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THE INFLULENCE OF GERMAN ROMANTICISM IN ANNA BROWNELL JAMESON'S WINTER STUDIES AND SUMMER RAMBLES IN CANADA

by

ILONA RYDER

©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1994

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Ilona Ryder

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SUBMITTED BY Ilona Ryder

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF Master of Arts

Dr. I. S. MacLaren

Dr. G. R. Moyles

David Mills
Dr. David C.L. Mills

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ABSTRACT

Anna Brownell Jameson (1794-1860) travelled to Canada at the end of December 1836, spent six months in Toronto, toured Upper Canada during July and August 1837, and was preparing to return to her native England by September of the same year. Within this brief time Jameson, already an accomplished writer, kept journals and notes that are the source for Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada.

As the title suggests, the book falls into two parts. The Winter Studies portion is dominated by what has been termed "private material" arising from Jameson's perusal of her German books, her reminiscences of German life, the Weimar scene, and the Goethe family with whom she had spent much of the preceding two years. In the second part of her book, Summer Rambles, Jameson recounts her adventure with the practiced eye of a traveller, while continuing to demonstrate an affinity for personal reflection and philosophical comment.

Jameson's time is marked by Romanticism, and because of her connections in Germany, she had become acquainted with the works and authors of German Romanticism. The intricate theories and artistic products of that literary and artistic movement saturated her mind and flavoured and informed her narrative about Canada. Any exclusion of the German material, as from the abridged editions that have appeared between the book's first publication (1838) and the Coles facsimile reprint (1970), prevents a full understanding of the structure and meaning of this unique historical portrait of Upper Canada.

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ABBREVIATIONS

NUC	The National Union Catalogue Pre-1956 Imprints. London: Mansell, 1971.
NWFE	The New World Family Encyclopaedia. William H. Hendleson, gen. ed. New York: Standard International Library, 1957.
OCEL	The Oxford Companion to English Literature. Margaret Drabble, ed. 5th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
OCGL	The Oxford Companion to German Literature. Henry and Mary Garland, eds. 2nd ed. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

INTRODUCTION

The first surprise upon opening one's unabridged editions of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada (1838), by Anna Brownell Jameson (1794-1860), is the German epigraph immediately preceding the text of Winter Studies: "Sind denn die Bäume auch so trostlos, so verzweiflungsvoll in ihrem Winter, wie das Herz in seiner Verlassenheit?" (Are then the trees equally as forlorn, equally frustrated in their winter, as the human heart in its loneliness? 15; my translation.[1]) These words, which evoke a sense of emotional connectedness between nature and humanity, stand untranslated to introduce Jameson's wintry description of Toronto upon her arrival in December, 1836. Through them, the possibility of a German influence--a specific German influence-- in the making of this book is immediately foregrounded. Purporting to be a travel narrative about Upper Canada, this work might further surprise its reader by the amount of space devoted, in the Winter Studies portion, to a discussion of German literature, society, and art. Moreover, German epigraphs continue to appear at intervals throughout the second, Summer Rambles portion, of Jameson's book, and a thread of German content is woven into the fabric of the entire work.

Jameson identifies the author of the first epigraph as "Bettine v. Arnim." Its source is Part III of Bettina's[2] Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde (Goethe's Correspondence with a Child), a three-part work published in 1835 and one of the books Jameson brought with her on her trip to Canada (Needler 87). Parts I and II of Bettina's book contain collections of letters between her and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and his family. Part III, with Tagebuch added to the title and "Book of Love" as subtitle, is a miscellany of private thoughts and meditations, some as short as a few lines, others spanning several pages. Although "Tagebuch" means diary or journal, many entries are addressed to someone by inclusion of the German familiar second person pronoun "du." None of the entries are dated, but some indicate location and season. Some begin with an invocation of "Freund!" (friend). Many question the absent object of affection: "Do you love me?" (475); "And should I tell you more. . . ?" (457). "And even if I write it in the book that I am sad today, can this console me?" (460) introduces the passage from which Jameson quotes. Here, as in many other passages, the theme is a yearning for perfect but unattainable love. Significant to Jameson and this study, the quoted lines are encoded in a series of philosophical meditations that link human love and passion to the workings of nature. Bettina's observations of gardens and trees, of flowers and blossoms, of sunsets and moonlight become infused with the essence of human yearning, feeling, and thinking.

---

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations from the German are mine.

[2] Bettina is the Anglicized name that she herself used in her in later years (e.g. in her 1834 dedication of the work cited). Modern critics also use "Bettina" to avoid confusion with her husband, Achim von Arnim (1781-1831), also a writer of the Heidelberg Romantik. I follow suit herein.

The concept that man's soul and intellect are inextricably linked to nature is one aspect of "Naturphilosophie," a philosophic cult associated with the German Romantic movement. Bettina's monument to Goethe was encouraged by her brother, Clemens Brentano (1778-1842), as well as her husband Achim von Arnim (1781-1831) and their group of associates, and is considered a "chief work of the Heidelberg Romantik and the greatest literary monument of its collective adoration of Goethe" (Arnim 637). Thus, apart from Bettina's personal approach, the Heidelberg or second phase of German Romanticism enters significantly into a discussion of Jameson's book. But the "Heidelberg Romantik" is only one period of a movement that "as a whole is fluid, even kaleidoscopic" (OCGL 761), just as "Naturphilosophie" is only one of its sub-cults. But how do Anna Jameson and her "Canada book"[3] accord with and exploit German Romanticism, and how does German Romanticism appear in this North American colonial context?

Not only do Bettina's words indicate the significance to Jameson of German Romantic philosophy, but also they pose a question, the answer to which suggests the theme for Winter Studies. Why is Jameson's heart lonely and abandoned? The answer, I believe, lies deeper than the obvious separation from family and friends, and is more complicated than her known estrangement from her husband, Robert Sympson Jameson (1798-1854), the then Attorney-General of Upper Canada. The frustrations Jameson works through and which are placed before the reader as a record of her first three months in Canada are more intellectually motivated and in keeping with Jameson's mature temperament than personal conflict alone would warrant.

---

[3] This term was coined by Harriet Martineau in a letter to Jameson shortly after the book's publication in December, 1838 (Thomas 139).

In Elizabeth Barnett's thesis, "The Memoirs of Pioneer Women Writers in Ontario," we find a preliminary note on Mrs. Jameson's temperament. By the time Jameson came to Canada, Barnett writes, "her tastes had been fully formed" (156); by 1836 Jameson "had travelled widely and had kept in touch with the leading ideas of the world of her time" (120). Barnett's comments on Jameson, though scant, nevertheless point toward an important and hitherto overlooked means of understanding Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada. In 1836 Jameson was a mature forty-two years old with a solid reputation as a writer. Her most recent travelling had taken place among the German literati who, while maturing to the demands of a new social order, had remained true to the German Romantic ideas they had forged several decades earlier. The peculiar combination of circumstances in which Jameson found herself before visiting Canada adds a dimension to the quasi-journalistic, semi-epistolary record of her nine-months' stay here that cannot be ignored. In order to appreciate the totality of her Canadian travel narrative, with its far-reaching philosophical outlook, its deep appreciation of nature, and its thorough discussion of social issues, we need to look at what constituted the "leading ideas of the world of her time," particularly German Romanticism. We ought also to learn something about how "her tastes had been . . . formed," especially during her visits to Germany preceding her journey to Canada.

The purpose of this study is to focus on the German component of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, from its origins in Jameson's personal experience, through its effect on her during the difficult winter months she spent in Toronto, to the part it plays in her vision of Upper Canada. Finally, by examining the severe editing of earlier twentieth-century editions, particularly as regards the German material, I will show how the unique dimension of this book was lost to generations of readers.

CHAPTER I

GERMAN ROMANTICISM IN JAMESON'S TIME

The term "German Romanticism" refers, first, to the artistic attitude of individualism, imagination, and freedom which defines romanticism generally, and second, to the particular manifestation of that attitude which arose in Germany in the last decade of the eighteenth century from a complex and overlapping series of philosophical and socio-political developments. Oskar Walzel's broad study from 1932 presents the movement as a puzzle: "German romanticism is so rich, so variegated, so manyfaceted," he writes, "that the more it is studied, the greater becomes the chaos of antithetical phenomena into which it threatens to disintegrate" (3). While more recent scholars offer a variety of specialized approaches to the period, established general criteria are the most useful in defining German Romanticism for the present purpose. Max Dufner and V.C. Hubbs present a manageable classification of German Romanticism in terms of three consecutive phases. The first is Early Romanticism, centered between 1796 and 1802 on the cities of Jena and Berlin. The Heidelberg Romantik is the second phase, beginning in 1802 and lasting to approximately 1815. The final period begins after Waterloo and ends with the death of Ernst Theodor Amadeus (E.T.A.) Hoffmann (1776-1822). This arrangement emphasizes the persons involved and outlines the prominent philosophic and artistic ideas as exemplified in the literary works of each period. Any study of German Romanticism, however, begins with a brief look at its origins.

The roots of German Romanticism lie in a philosophical effort to come to terms with the rationalism of the Enlightenment. The worship of rational thought as the greatest of all human faculties began to be seen as too one-sided; the empiricist reduction of all knowledge into tidy syllogisms became suspect. The philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), in a dramatic turn from his own earlier beliefs,[1] began, in his Critique of Pure Reason (1771), to question what he saw as the conflicting claims of rationalism and empiricism of the new science. Kant attempted to re-infuse a philosophical dimension into the scientific approach to metaphysical questions. According to Kant, questions about God, about free will, about the immortality of the soul, cannot be examined scientifically, and therefore a rationalistic metaphysics is impossible (NWFE 2767). Kant theorized that the active mind perceives the world on the basis of intelligence, that fixed forms of space and time as well as the principles of causality and reaction are applied by the mind to natural phenomena. Further, Kant asserted the rights of human will and feelings, linking goodness to the supreme moral law that man be treated as an end in himself and not as a means toward an end; he thereby implies the existence of God. The philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) summed up the concept of metaphysical desire, shades of which permeate all phases of the German Romantic movement, by stating that "the human soul would fain overlook the whole of experience in its deepest interrelations, survey all phenomena in their totality, and become aware of the unity which comprises them all" (Walzel 11). Thus a new paradigm for the Man of Reason was launched, and the mysteries of the subconscious resurfaced in the minds of a new generation of intellectuals and artists.

---

[1] As a young man Kant was greatly influenced by the rationalistic metaphysics (monadism) of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716), but upon reading the works of David Hume (1711-1776), he began to question the strictures of that earlier philosophy.

These seeds of reaction against rationalism did not fall on barren ground; among other reasons such as educational reform at home and increased exposure to cultures abroad, the survival of Pietism, an anti-Protestant movement of religious emotionalism, ensured their germination. Although the furore of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) was long past, it had not been forgotten. The conflict had been partially caused by the Protestants' rigid and the Roman Catholics' emotional approach to religion. Furthermore, the necessity of declaring a winner--Protestantism--had been a purely mechanical solution. Catholicism, far from being banished, was kept alive within the Lutheran Church itself by the Pietists, who stressed faith and repentance as emotional truths, and who returned, in a roundabout way, to the Catholic mysticism of the Middle Ages. Under Count Nikolaus von Zinsendorf (1700-1760), the movement became widespread in Germany and contributed to the formation of the Moravians, a sect that was to become active as missionaries in North America.

When Jameson was travelling near Chatham, Upper Canada in 1837, she met and had discussions with a Moravian missionary. She demonstrates her knowledge of the sect by citing an episode from Moravian missionary literature, which she footnotes as the "History of the Missions of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America, translated [in 1794] from the German" (2:248). But Jameson also criticises the Moravian missionary by ascribing to him the anachronism of continuing to apply a religious outlook that originated some hundred years earlier (the Moravians had resided among the Delaware Indians since 1735), an outlook that ultimately reached back into medieval times: "But if it be in this style that the simple and sublime precepts of Christianity are first presented to the understanding of the Indians, can we wonder at the little progress hitherto made in converting them to the truth?" (2:248). To Jameson, and to the Germany she knew, the pietistic roots had long since been assimilated in a more philosophical and secular rather than a theological and religious world view. Part of that concatenation of ideas was the work of German Romanticism.

Although the roots of German Romanticism may be found in philosophical and religious reaction, as a literary movement it is also indebted to the "Sturm und Drang," or Storm and Stress, a short-lived literary movement of the 1770s. The name derives from a play by Friedrich Maximilian Klinger (1752-1831), who was by profession a soldier. Klinger was befriended by Goethe and wrote a number of absurd dramas. One of these, set in America during the War of Independence, deals with a feud between two families that is eventually reconciled through love. Originally titled "Wirrwarr" (Confusion; 1775), the play was renamed "Sturm und Drang." Literary historians later applied the term to this period of literary ferment in Germany.

The philosophers Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788) and Johann Friedrich Herder (1744-1803), are considered "champions of pure feeling" and the "spiritual fathers" of this episode of German literature (Dufner and Hubbs 2). Hamann and Herder interpreted Kant's revolutionary theories to the point of hostility toward reason in favour of emotion. Their vigorous assertion of a man's totality created a representative figure of the Storm and Stress that "was and remained a youthful, virile, and mighty 'fellow,' swept along by a single violent emotion, to which he resigned himself with misgiving, but unwilling, nevertheless, to interpret his own dreams" (Walzel 12). The ideals set forward by Hamann and Herder, however, soon became another rigid and ineffectual view of man's behaviour toward himself and the world around him. While there was a call to "go forth into life" (Walzel 15), and learn from experience, there was that same failure one finally realizes in Rousseau: order was missing. The highly idealistic desires championed by the Storm and Stress would soon be modified, on the one hand by a return to the objectivity of classical ideals, and on the other by the subjectivity of the early German Romanticists.[2]

Both strands of thought, however, depended upon further developments in philosophy. The power of the individual mind, first drawn out by Kant but linked to the emotions by Hamann and Herder, was taken in a new direction by Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814). Also a pupil of Kant, Fichte maintained the link to the intellectual in his theory of subjective idealism, which was based on the idea that an individual creates a world in which life and activity are paramount yet finite. This creative selflessness promises the possibility of a measure of freedom for which the individual must continually strive. As we will see, the literary artist uses this philosophical stance as a basis for the impossibility of perfectly finishing a work of art. Equally important as the new concepts of the individual were the emerging perceptions of the universe. Kant postulated that scientific truths are not innate--rather, they are "created" by the human mind--and that nature does not possess a purpose beyond that imposed upon it by man. Moving from these concepts, the aesthetic idealism of Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775-1854) boldly stated that the universe is a work of art. Schelling did not hesitate to manipulate ideas in order to construct an evolutionary system that showed, step by step, "how inanimate nature advances toward the animate" (Walzel 62). As unrealistic as the resulting "Naturphilosophie" might seem to us, it played a significant part in the development of German Romanticism, nor was it ignored by the Classicists.

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[2] The term "Romanticist," as used in this study, means "an advocate of or participant in romanticism or the romantic movement esp. in art, literature, or music" (Webster's Third International Dictionary).

The phenomenon of German Classicism, resulting generally from Neoplatonic attitudes carried over from the Middle Ages, and particularly from the efforts of Johann Joachim Winkelmann (1717-1768), a librarian and art historian, found its literary revival in the works of Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832). Winkelmann, who was personally attracted to Greek literature, became inadvertently involved with the classical arts. With his unassuming written works, Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst (Thoughts about the Influence of Greek Art in Painting and Sculpture; 1754), and Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums (History of the Art of Antiquity; 1764), he unwittingly became a founder of the study of art history (Eichner 17-18). Winkelmann singlehandedly brought the complex organic structure of the classical arts to the attention of highly receptive German writers. The subsequent classicist approach to literature, as exemplified in the dramas of Schiller and Goethe, foregrounded the ideal of the individual of great moral character, an ideal realized through aesthetics. To the Classicists, the study and imitation of classical art and drama was the proper goal for the new Man of Reason. Nevertheless, Schiller and Goethe did not divorce themselves from a heightened awareness of subjectivity and emotion as forces of human nature. The popularity of Schiller's The Bride of Messina (1793), Wallenstein (1799), and Mary Stuart (1800), and Goethe's Egmont (1787), Iphigenie auf Tauris (1787), and Torquato Tasso (1790) attest to the ample ingredient of human passion in these dramas, the titles of all of which signify their celebration of great individuals.

Goethe's plays are of consequence to the present study because Jameson brought them with her to Canada and studied them during her stay in Toronto. In these works, Goethe preserved the regular forms of art but allowed his aesthetics and his concept of nature to be linked to Herder (Walzel 59), thereby maintaining a high level of emotion within the classical mode. For example, in Iphigenie auf Tauris (1787), Goethe incorporates "involuntary restraint" with "a strong yearning for the homeland" and a "strong sense of duty and truthfulness" (OCGL 442) into a highly emotional conflict set in the classical age. The heroine is both passionate and rational; her rescue involves both personal and humanitarian values. In a bloodless resolution, her captor King yields to Iphigenie's reason which is only effective by its bond to emotion and moral duty. This work demonstrates to us, as it would have to Jameson, Goethe's conglomerate application of the leading philosophies of his time.

Hans Eichner, in his study, Deutsche Literatur im klassisch-romantischen Zeitalter I & II, (German Literature in the Classic-romantic Era; 1990), does not distinguish among "Sturm und Drang," "German Klassik," and "German Romantik." Rather, he labels them together as one movement, the "Deutsche Bewegung" (16). The long and complex career of Goethe, his work reflecting elements of all three episodes, supports Eichner's view. In his youth, Goethe was greatly influenced by Herder; the single-mindedness of The Sorrows of Young Werther (1774) attests to the Storm and Stress model. Goethe's journey to Italy in 1786 and the works of Winkelmann awakened him to the classicism that he would never quite give up. Finally, his novels Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre (Apprenticeship) and Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre (Travels), written at intervals between 1777 and 1829 (OCEL), were "hailed by the romanticists as [a] great example of romantic literature" (Dufner and Hubbs 3).

So far, I have demonstrated that the Storm and Stress, German Classicism and German Romanticism originated from the same philosophical and religious roots and remained inextricably linked. This background helps us to understand the German Romantic tenets as they were stated by the Romanticists and applied in the German literature of the early nineteenth century, and how they were disseminated among the circle in which Jameson was, for a time, included.

During the last decade of the eighteenth century, the varying strands of thought conglomerated in the literary works of the Berlin or Jena Romanticists[3]; their period is called Early Romanticism, "Ältere Romantik", or "Frühromantik" (OCGL) and the first of the three phases mentioned above. The literary theories developed by this group form the foundation on which the later stages of German Romanticism were built. Between 1797 and 1800, there appeared a series of maxims in the literary journals, Lyceum der schönen Künste (Lyceum of Fine Arts) and Athenaeum. Friedrich Schlegel (who had professed to be a Classicist before he joined his brother's group) wrote most of the one hundred twenty-seven Lyceum Fragments and Ideas, as well as the four hundred fifty-one Athenaeum Fragments, his brother and the rest of the group contributing a small percentage (Firchow, 16). Not only is the sheer number of ideas overwhelming, but also the fragments are "often extremely difficult--not merely to translate, but simply to understand" (Firchow 17). Nevertheless, scholars have isolated the important sections, the Athenaeum Fragment 116 being most often cited as a starting point of German Romantic doctrine.[4] In a jumble of paradoxical ideas, Schlegel touches on six main points that Dufner and Hubbs also cite briefly.

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[3] These included Heinrich Wackenroder (1773-1798), Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853), and Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772-1801)--better known by his pseudonym Novalis. The philosopher Joseph von Schelling (1775-1845), and the critics August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845) and his brother, Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829) also contributed.

The first concept was an artistic attitude of universality: Romantic literature was to "unite all fields of knowledge and incorporate art, religion, science and philosophy" (Dufner and Hubbs 5). Wackenroder, in his Herzensergiessungen eines kunsltliebenden Klosterbruders (Confessions of an Art-loving Monk; 1796), combines art and religion in a highly emotional fiction. In his Phantasien über die Kunst (Fantasies On Art; 1799), Tieck proclaimed music as the greatest of all the arts. Goethe's Wilhelm Meister novels address the theatre and illustrate this doctrine through the main character. Wilhelm grows up on the exotic stories and fantastic costumes of his puppet theatre; then, for a time, he works in business before making his way back to drama and stage management, all the while being indoctrinated in the philosophy of life by conveniently encountered passers-by.

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[4] Because any effort to glean essential points destroys the complexity and spirit of Schlegel's words, even in translation, Firchow's translation of Athenaeum Fragment 116 is included as Appendix I.

Second, literary forms were to be "fluid and fluctuating" (Dufner and Hubbs 5). As Walzel explains, "the harmony toward which classicism strove being unattainable, one must seek to approach it by way of the utmost versatility" (Walzel 44). In Lyceum Fragment 55, Schlegel calls for the artist to "attune himself at will ... just as one tunes an instrument" (Firchow 149), so that the resulting performance fits the subject presented. In Athenaeum Fragment 116, he compares the literary work to "a mirror of the whole circumambient world" (Firchow 175), presumably free from restrictions of format and able to move from one image to another according to the immediate purpose of the artist. Marianne Thalmann's study, The Literary Sign Language of German Romanticism (1972), offers an insightful examination of the techniques of artistic structuring in German Romantic literature. Thalmann suggests that within the literary type commonly referred to as the fairy tale, "the world is viewed not per se but in parallels, oppositions, and comparisons" (104). For example, the "Hyacinth" of Novalis is "a story of compact brevity printed without indentations and breathlessly told" (Thalmann 106), while Tieck's "Blond Eckbert" combines in a tale and reflections "a first-person and a third-person story . . . told in the past tense and therefore terminated, as well as . . . unfolding before us" (Thalmann 109-110). Ludwig Tieck intrudes as the narrator in Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen (Franz Sternbald's Travels; 1798) to describe the spirit of the literary artist as "an ever moving stream, whose melody will not be silent for a moment" (45). For readers of Jameson's narrative, which also moves freely from observing to philosophizing to reporting as the moment dictates, the flowing yet complex narrative technique that emerges in this time will appear familiar.

Participants of the German Romantic school were to encourage "original genius and imagination" (Dufner and Hubbs 5). We see this strain in Goethe's creation of Wilhelm Meister, a character who relies on his own originality and imagination. Meister's impassioned acceptance of Shakespeare reflects the Romantic ideal of genius inspiring genius. At the prompting of his friend Jarno, Wilhelm "received the promised books; and ere long, as may be easily supposed, the stream of that mighty genius laid hold of him, and led him down to a shoreless ocean, where he soon completely forgot and lost himself" (Goethe Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels I:157). Similarly, Tieck's character Franz Sternbald had, since childhood, an uncontrollable urge to draw and paint, but his greatest artistic and moral inspiration came from his "Master," the painter and engraver Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528). For the German Romanticists, inspiration came from listening to and learning from the genius within and without, a genius which could appear in fragmented or random fashion.

Schlegel's fourth tenet for German Romanticism was that the "finite world was to yield to the limitless chaos of infinity" (Dufner and Hubbs 5). Schlegel says in Lyceum Fragment 37, "[d]on't be in too much of a hurry for self-restriction, but first give rein to self-creation, invention, and inspiration . . . (Firchow 147). In German Romantic literature, many unpredictable and surprising events occur to ever broaden the artist's vision toward its greatest potential. The novel in this mode is sometimes called "Bildungsroman," and Goethe's Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship is generally considered one of the first in this genre. Unlike its generic precursors in English by Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) and Henry Fielding (1707-1754), in which accidental events move the action along, the German Romantic Bildungsroman features a chaotic action that is directly related to the protagonist's artistic development. Not only in the novel, but also in the fairy tale and short story, writers encoded their message within chaotic or fantastical elements. Even in minor prose and poetry, this freedom of expression was encouraged. Under Goethe's direction, his daughter-in-law Ottilie von Goethe (1796-1872) edited a private journal named Chaos (1829-1831); the rule for its contributors was freedom of expression on any subject. This dictum, then, appears to offer an apologia for the use of the fragment form and account for its popularity among writers of all kinds.

Application of these literary ideals was to come through the medium of emotion. Schlegel's fifth doctrine held that "the vague and incomprehensible were to be understood emotionally through the power of symbols" (Dufner and Hubbs 5). Thomas Carlyle, in the introduction to his translation of the first part of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship (1824), notes that the "history of Mignon runs like a thread of gold through the tissue of the narrative, connecting with the heart much that were else addressed only to the head" (viii). Embodied within "this true-hearted creature" (I:197), the "thread" symbolizes the search for the soul and unites the philosophical and literary output of German Romanticism. "There is no form so fit [as creative writing] for expressing the entire spirit of an author," notes Schlegel in Athenaeum Fragment 116, "[and] many artists who started out to write only a novel ended up by providing us with a portrait of themselves" (Firchow 175). Both Goethe and Tieck intruded as subjective narrators in their novels, thereby injecting their own personality into their art.

With this in mind, we can identify Bettina von Arnim's monument to Goethe, to which Jameson makes reference in her Canadian narrative, as an emotionally chaotic portrait of herself that is underscored by a genuine desire to understand human nature. Thus, with the literary tools available to them, the German Romanticists observed and analyzed their own manner of thinking and feeling. The author's autobiographical stance, his or her subjectivity, is thereby sanctioned: Jameson is free to explore her deepest emotions, as she does, for example, at Niagara in winter.

Finally, the German Romanticists felt that their literature "strove toward no ultimate perfection. It was ever in the process of development, 'immer werdend'," (Dufner and Hubbs 5). This idea derives from Schlegel's Athenaeum Fragment 116, and leads to the concept of romantic irony. In her book, Frauen der Romantik (Women of the Romantik; 1931), Margarete Susman summarizes the paradoxical nature of German Romanticism: it is at once "thoughtfulness and light-mindedness, effusion and coolness, darkness and clarity, the secretly dreamy and the keenly conscious" (163). No wonder a German Romanticist's works could be "in progress" seemingly forever: Goethe wrote his novel Wilhelm Meister at intervals between 1777 and 1829 (OCEL 389). Tieck, in his 1843 afterword to Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen, first published in 1798, accepts the novel's incompleteness: "Often have I, in this long row of years, put pen to paper, to continue and end the book, but I could never again recapture the mood that was necessary" (290). Here again, we are reminded of the penchant for the fragment which provided an escape from final commitment. If imperfection was a problem, it was also a solution for the German Romanticist.

Indeed, one can never be certain to what degree a literary work adheres to or departs from an author's original manuscript form. Although Jameson's own apologia in the Preface of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada may be conventional, it nevertheless shows that she considered the book incomplete:

> It never was intended to go before the world in its present crude and desultory form; . . . owing to the intervention of various circumstances, and occupation of graver import, I found myself reduced to the alternative of either publishing the book as it now stands, or of suppressing it altogether. Neither the time nor the attention necessary to remodel the whole were within my own power. (1:v,vi)

Judging by the reception[5] of Jameson's book, her readers in England did not find fault with its "crude and desultory form." Certainly those in Germany were well accustomed to works of art in progress.

The first phase of German Romanticism provided the necessary mood for an attempt to "reconcile the irreconcilable: the reasonable with the irrational, the intellect with emotion, realism with idealism, art with nature" (Dufner and Hubbs 5). Writers of the second phase[6] essentially carried on in the directions established by the first group (Dufner and Hubbs 7), with added prominence assigned to the aspect of self-analysis. The shift to a psychological approach in art and literature was partly due to the popularity of Mesmerism or hypnotism, originated by Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815) and formulated by the scientist Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert (1780-1860).

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[5] For a detailed account of the reception of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles, see Clara Thomas, Love and Work Enough, 139-143.

[6] After two of its most creative writers died, Wackenroder at twenty-five and Novalis at twenty-nine, the Jena group broke apart but the survivors soon reassembled as the later, or Heidelberg, Romanticists. The Schlegels and Tieck now joined Clemens Brentano (1778-1842), Achim von Arnim (1781-1831), Bettina's brother and husband respectively, and Joseph von Görres (1776-1848) as the representative writers of the second phase of the movement.

Their studies conceived of a mental process that, by tapping into latent animal magnetism, enables communication between the soul and its dormant powers. In the early nineteenth century, however, medical knowledge had not progressed sufficiently to allow a move directly into clinical psychology. Thinkers struggled with the idea that dreams and visions were mysteries that affected people's lives. In the hands of literary artists, fantasy and mystery continued to shroud the powers of the mind, and this approach contributed to the cult of "Naturphilosophie," the spiritualization of inanimate nature.

This philosophical explication of nature "turned mankind from an afterthought in the creation to the glory and fulfilment of it, possessing a mind through which the divine spirit is most fully realized" (Gaull 358). For the individual, the application was a religious experience of nature, self, and God combined in one truth, an experience gained from observing the everyday world at hand. Tieck's character, Franz Sternbald, as an example, has a strong affinity for nature. Trees and bushes appear to comfort him, and sometimes take on a decidedly religious significance. He enters the forest of his childhood "with a feeling, like entering a holy temple" (26). When his painting is hung in the village church and Franz gazes out through the doors, it "seemed to him as if tree and bush were also praying piously, and resting in the embrace of devotion" (46). Be it in Tieck's or in Bettina's words, the mysteries of nature and human nature become intertwined.

In a sense, "Naturphilosophie" approaches a reconciliation of the irreconcilable worlds of nature, science, and spiritualism. This particular aspect of German Romanticism has some similarities to North American Indian spiritual life, at the centre of which lay animism. The term is defined as the "attribution of conscious life and a discrete indwelling spirit to every material form of reality . . . often including belief in the continued existence of individual disembodied spirits capable of exercising a benignant or malignant influence" (Webster's Third New International Dictionary). It is interesting to speculate whether Jameson's good relations with the Indians can be at least partially accounted for by her sympathetic understanding of this particular tenet of German Romanticism.

Religion, in its own right, gained momentum through German Romanticism. After the debacle of the French Revolution and faced with the atrocities of the Napoleonic Wars (1805-1815), the people of Europe looked toward faith for relief. Friedrich Schlegel, with a longstanding interest in the Bible, saw Christianity as the "religion of the future" (Walzel 85). In Tieck's Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen, the devoutness of the sixteenth century is revitalized; Franz glorifies the religious art of Albrecht Dürer and his contemporaries. The young artist's journey is a pilgrimage, not unlike Dürer's own, to Italy and the Sistine Chapel and Michelangelo's painting of the Creation, where Franz finds his own answer to the riddles of art and life. His spirit awakened, Franz is ready to return to his fatherland.

The second phase of Romanticism is also marked by a resurrection of German folk art and literature, which at first appears to parallel the revival advocated by the English Romantics, particularly William Wordsworth (1770-1850) in his Preface to the Lyrical Ballads (1800). But instead of theorizing on poetic production--Schlegel had already done that--the Heidelberg Romanticists were interested in the actual literary works of the past. Görres, von Arnim, and Brentano edited several collections of old tales, folk songs, and ballads. Jacob Grimm (1785-1863) and his brother Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859) are known worldwide for their collection of fairy tales, Kinder- und Hausmärchen (1812-1815). By these efforts, a nationalistic literary history was born in Germany and native songs and stories were retold for their intrinsic moral and historical value.

The decline of the German Romantic movement as a leading artistic stimulus comes with its third stage, exemplified by the increasingly ironical and fantastical tales of E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776-1822). After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, European political, social, and economic conditions rapidly moved Germany toward a new social and political order, and toward a new artistic attitude of realism in a New Germany. That is not to say the effect of German Romanticism on artists and writers suddenly ended. As Theodore Ziolkowski proposes in German Romanticism and Its Institutions (1990), "literature ... leads a life of its own long after the demise of the institutions that initially produce the images" (58). The continuing presence of the founders and maintainers of the movement--Tieck, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Brentano, Görres, and the brothers Grimm--ensured the dissemination of German Romantic ideals and conventions well into the 1830's and beyond.

Especially in literary and intellectual circles such as dominated Weimar and the salons of Dresden and Berlin, old and new adherents to German Romantic tenets surrounded Goethe in his lifetime but also persisted and rejuvenated themselves after his death in 1832. Throughout Germany, now politically united through the Deutsche Bund (1815), the cosmopolitan and collectivist philosophy of a Young Germany "overtook aging romanticism" by a certain amount of "imitation" which "drove home the fact that to the very last romanticism was well aware of the problems that were [still] demanding solution" (Walzel 144). Tieck held readings at his house in Dresden, and the Schlegels entertained at Bonn. By the time Anna Jameson made her "entrée" into German society in 1833, the aging Romanticists were being sought as valuable social contacts, their works comprised the national canon, and the doctrines they had set forth flowed as an undercurrent through German cultural sensibilities.

CHAPTER II

LEARNING TO SEE THROUGH GERMAN EYES

Jameson's trip to Germany in 1833 was a turning point for her personal relationships as well as her professional career as a writer. But it was not the first time she had travelled to the continent or to Germany. In 1821, before she was married, Anna Brownell Murphy travelled to Italy. In 1829 she visited Germany for the first time. She spent the better part of 1833 in Germany. Then, in the summer of 1834 she undertook her longest stay, visiting many places in Germany and Austria, and returning to England in the spring of 1836. In total, prior to coming to Canada in 1836, Jameson had spent approximately four and a half years travelling the continent, more than three years of that time in Germany and Austria. In other words, she had been directly exposed to German society, art, philosophy, and literature with increasing frequency and intensity just before she travelled to Canada.

The people she met and the ideas she absorbed during her times in the German-speaking world are of major significance to Jameson's development as a writer. For Jameson, travelling was always closely linked to study and writing, as a brief sketch of her early tours will demonstrate. Her first trip abroad was to Italy, a tour of about a year between early summer of 1821 and spring of 1822. She was still single: in London, Anna Brownell Murphy had met and become engaged to Robert Sympson Jameson (1798-1854) but the engagement had broken off. During the journey, Anna had some duties as governess to the Rowles family, but she also enjoyed time for private study and outdoor adventure (Thomas 16). In her letters home she displayed an adventurous spirit and scholarly vision: on leaving Italy, she laments having to "leave many things unseen" but effuses over the headway she has made: "all I could see and learn, I have seen and learnt" (Thomas 17). She had also kept a diary of the journey, material from which would contribute to her first book.

Back in England, Anna's courtship with Robert Jameson resumed and led to their marriage in 1825. The following year, with her husband's encouragement, Jameson published her first book, A Lady's Diary (1826), issued by the London bookseller Mr. Thomas, one of Robert Jameson's acquaintances. On its immediate success, H. Colburn bought and republished it as The Diary of an Ennuyée (1826). Both editions were published anonymously, Mrs. Jameson receiving a Spanish guitar in payment. The Diary, in which the literary genre of diary is blurred between gothic fiction and travel narrative, is a semi-fictional account of a young woman's fatal continental tour while suffering from a broken heart. Clara Thomas sees this "fictionalized story of [the] trip" (24) as evidence of Jameson's propensity to engage her audience in her own "romantic Sturm und Drang" (24). Because Thomas does not pursue this direction, however, it is not clear if she is trying to make a connection between Jameson and the literary movement which was a precursor to German Romanticism.

In the summer of 1829 Robert Jameson was appointed as puisne judge and sent to the island of Dominica. His wife did not accompany him, and they were to be separated for nearly four years. Soon after her husband left England, Mrs. Jameson joined her father as a guest of Sir Gerard Noel on a tour of the Low Countries and Germany. In Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad (1834), which covers this trip and also her next, Jameson describes their "mode of travel in terms which are a classically witty evocation of the nineteenth-century English gentleman's party abroad" (Thomas 46). However, this journey also exposed Jameson to Germany's literature, art, and society, "an important influence on her for the rest of her life" (Thomas 47).

Although Robert Jameson returned to England from Dominica late in 1832, by March of 1833 he was called to Upper Canada to serve as Attorney-General. When he left England, his wife stayed behind once more, but soon after set out for Germany. In a whirlwind tour of Weimar, Frankfurt, Bonn, Mannheim, Dresden, Munich and many smaller places, she gathered the materials to round out Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad. Part I of this travel narrative is a discussion between the fictitious Alda, Jameson's alter-ego and travelling reporter, and Medon, her English audience and listener. Part II is in the form of journal, with dated entries, offering sometimes detailed, sometimes fleeting comment upon "The Opera at Munich," "The Munich Gallery," "Albert Dürer," "The Dresden Gallery," just to name a few section headings. (Portions of Winter Studies are, in a sense, a continuation of this social and artistic commentary.)

In November of 1833, Jameson was called back to England because her father had suffered a stroke, but the six months spent in Germany in 1833 ensured that her professional interests in art, theatre, and literature, as well as her personal relationships would hereafter contain a German component. Jameson "made friends with poets, philosophers, politicians, and scientists, with whom she could exchange ideas" and, through them, became "more closely acquainted with the German romantic tradition" (Sigrist 108).

Her "entrée into German society" (Thomas 75) was possible for two reasons: first, Robert Noel[1] provided letters of introduction; second, Mrs. Jameson enjoyed a reputation as a writer, having published three more books between 1829 and 1832. The first was Memoirs of the Loves of the Poets (1829), a series of "biographical sketches of women celebrated in ancient and modern poetry" (Thomas 49). This was followed by Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns (1831), which traces the stories of twelve queens from various countries and times in history. While Jameson announces a "moral and picturesque point of view" in her Preface, this work displays "a respect for factual historical material" (Thomas 54), and moves Jameson's method toward serious scholarship. The third and "most ambitious project to date" (Thomas 57) was an analysis of Shakespearian female characters. Characteristics of Women (1831) resulted largely from Jameson's friendship with the actress Fanny Kemble (1809-1893) and from her newfound interest in the theatre (Thomas 57).

More important, in this work Jameson began looking at new philosophical directions by considering the interpretations of Shakespeare that had become the vogue in Germany. In Characteristics of Women, Jameson refers approvingly to the critical evaluations of Schlegel, Tieck and the liberalist Hazlitt, while reserving "a strong measure of disapproval and disagreement" for earlier, more conservative critics

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[1] Robert Noel (dates not found) was a cousin of Lady Byron, with whom Mrs. Jameson also had a long relationship. He was introduced ca. 1832 to the Jamesons by Henry Behnes Burlowe, the sculptor. Noel had already lived for some time in Germany. He later married a German woman, Louise, and they lived in Europe.

(Thomas 68). Progressive Shakespeare criticism had been practised above all by the romanticists in Germany; Tieck, Schiller, Goethe, and Schlegel all concerned themselves with the bard's work. Jameson's contribution was well received in England as well as in Germany (Thomas 71) and although it was only translated into German in 1840,[2] Characteristics of Women had already been reviewed by Tieck by the time she met him in 1833. With this book Jameson's literary reputation was solidly established, so that when she arrived in Germany in person in 1833, not only her friend Robert Noel's letters but also her own literary fame served to introduce her to those she had been anxious to meet.

Her first stop was Weimar, where she met and spent a "fortnight" (Needler 11) with Ottilie von Goethe (1796-1872).[3] Although her first stay was comparatively short, Jameson gained a taste of the intellectual and literary milieu that had drawn so many to the literary court, now often referred to as "Der Weimarische Musenhof" (The Weimar Court of the Muse; OCGL 964). In 1775, Karl August, the ruler of the small kingdom of Saxe-Weimar, had invited Goethe to live in the small capital city. The "Goethe Haus" on the Frauenplan was eventually signed over to the family and became the meeting place for many of the most influential men and women of the emerging upper middle-class artists of the day. After Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815, many "distinguished strangers, especially from the British Isles . . . came in [great] numbers to visit Goethe" (Needler xii). And even after the famous author's death in 1832, the house remained a major meeting place of minds, with established as well as aspiring artists of all persuasions socializing and philosophizing around the social whirlwind that was Ottilie. Like many other visitors, Jameson was virtually swept off her feet by her.

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[2] Ernst Ortlepp is the translator. The work, under the German title Shakespeares Weibliche Charaktere (Shakespeare's Female Characters), formed part of Schlegel and Tieck's Nachträge zu Shakespeares Werken (Supplement to Shakespeare's Works) published in Stuttgart by L.R. Rieger & Co., 1840.

[3] Ottilie von Goethe, originally Baroness von Pogwisch, married Goethe's son, Julius August Walther von Goethe (1789-1830) in 1817 and bore him two sons, Wolf and Walther.

As much as Jameson became attached to Ottilie, as evident from her letters (Needler 1-22) after leaving Weimar, the tour she embarked upon allowed her to meet other important people. One of the first was August Wilhelm von Schlegel, one of the founders of German Romanticism. In her letter to Ottilie dated Bonn, July 1833, she writes that "Schlegel was introduced to me and we had a long chatter. He is what you described, but not the less Schlegel whose absurdities will be buried with him, and his Genius survive" (Needler 2). Jameson had further occasion to be with Schlegel. "Schlegel became very amiable before I left Bonn . . ." (Macpherson 80), she wrote in September. "He talked of Mme. de Staël and Bernadotte and Sanscrit [Schlegel was by this time heavily involved in Indian studies] . . . he told me many interesting things" (Macpherson 80, 85). Jameson does not detail their conversations: "to me he was the author of Dramatic Literature [Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature, 1815], and the translator of Shakespeare" (Macpherson 81), but there can be no doubt that Schlegel, sixty-six years old and brimming with memories, filled her head with his knowledge and theories.

Jameson's reference to the "Genius" of Schlegel is more than coincidental. The theory of Genius, originating in the Jena "Geniezeit" and becoming a major component of German Romanticism, reappears in Jameson's description of the painter Moritz Retzsch (1779-1857), whom she subsequently met in Dresden. In his art, she recognized that Retzsch "embraces at once the grotesque, the comic, the wild, the wonderful, the fanciful, the elegant" (Macpherson 73). These are the very properties that the German Romanticists had attempted to stress in their literary art; these properties of the imagination were thus visually transmitted to Jameson.

At Frankfurt, Jameson met Johann Heinrich von Dannecker (1758-1841), a successful sculptor who had been associated with Schiller, Goethe, and Herder at the height of the German Romantic movement. She was impressed not only by his art, but also by the creative process behind it. The "good old man" (Macpherson 75) explained to Jameson how he conceived his famous statue of the Redeemer: it had been the product of a persistent vision which he was able to render into art after the models from "'here and here', laying his hand first on his head, then on his heart"

(Macpherson 76). In other words, his art was true to his intellect as well as his feelings. Thus, Jameson experienced first-hand the German Romantic doctrines of genius and emotion, and the principle of "trueheartedness." Later, when she contemplates Goethe's thoughts in Winter Studies (1:173-255), she forcibly reminds herself of this principle and prepares to use it in her own work.

Jameson felt deeply indebted to Robert Noel for his letter introducing her to Ludwig Tieck: "I was enchanted when I read the name of Tieck in your letter," she thanked her friend (Macpherson 67). That Tieck "ha[d] identified himself with our Shakespeare" (Macpherson 66) was especially important to Jameson because she had used his comments to footnote a passage in Characteristics of Women.[4] Upon meeting in Dresden, their conversation "fell, very naturally, upon Shakespeare" (Macpherson 66) and may have been related to the circumstances surrounding the marginalia in what was then Tieck's copy of Jameson's book.

A closer look at this connection reveals more about the intellectual relationship Jameson cultivated with the German critic and poet than Thomas, for one, acknowledges. Her evaluation is that he "praised [Jameson's] work . . . with certain reservations" (71). Roger Paulin, in his literary biography of Tieck, also singles out the negative by noting that Tieck found her "not much better" than other English critics of Shakespeare, and by describing Tieck's thoughts and comments to be "dismissive" of Jameson (250, 257). A careful look at the famous marginalia, however, reveals Tieck's familiarity and agreement with Jameson's views, at least as far as concerns her interpretation of Lady Macbeth. That Jameson sent him a copy of the book in the winter of 1833 points to their intellectual meeting earlier that year; the gift would have been considered appropriate. That she glued a piece of paper over a passage in which she refers to Tieck's comments on the subject for fear of offending him shows her deep respect. He, in turn, was so curious to see what she had written that he removed the pasted-on paper, thereby ruining the print. His marginal note expresses curiosity: "Um so sonderbarer, weil gerade meine Ansicht über Lady Macbeth ganz mit, der verständigen Verfasserin ... übereinstimmt" (Thomas 71). In translation this sentence reads: "So much more unusual, particularly because my view of Lady Macbeth quite coincides with that of the knowledgeable authoress." Tieck may have disagreed with her reading of other characters, as evidenced by a note on Hamlet--"all above ridiculous" (Thomas 71)--but he clearly took Jameson's criticism seriously and acknowledged, rather than dismissed, her efforts.

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[4] This copy of Jameson's book may be found in the British Museum (Thomas 71). I have not been able to obtain a copy of the first edition, and therefore cannot confirm exactly where the tampering occurred. The book was revised and republished many times; the New York edition of 1837, for instance, mentions Tieck neither in the text nor any footnote.

Jameson became familiar with German Romantic ideas, not only directly through the authors and artists she met, but also indirectly by way of numerous friends and minor acquaintances. At Bonn, she met Adele Schopenhauer (1797-1849), the sister of the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), who was just then at the height of his work. Originally a follower of Kant, Schopenhauer concerned himself with the human will. Although today he is chiefly known for his philosophy of pessimism, Schopenhauer's idea of the moral will, "which feels the identity of itself with all other beings" (NWFE 4413), and his conception of the human will "as an absolute and irrational concept asserting itself independently of time and space over and above inorganic and organic phenomena" (OCGL 813) nevertheless coincide with the German Romantic tenets of unity and individual genius.

Also at Bonn, Jameson met Sybille Mertens-Schaafhausen (1797-1857), archaeologist and author, who opened her house as a centre of hospitality to her intellectual contemporaries. It was here that Jameson met Schlegel (Needler 2). At Mannheim, Jameson met Caroline Jagemann (1777-1848), an actress and singer who had close connections to Goethe. In Munich, Jameson met Abraham Hayward (1801-1884), a writer who translated Goethe's Faust in 1833. The Hungarian Zichy and Szechenyi families, with whom Jameson became acquainted in Dresden, counted among the prominent political thinkers of the day. An important aspect of all these visits and friendships was the current and popular entertainment. Jameson and her new friends frequently visited the local theatre, opera, and art galleries. Artists, performers, authors, and producers became integral members of the social circle that she enjoyed. In addition, Jameson joined in to hear private readings, including those at the Tieck residence in Dresden (Thomas 89).

So taken was Jameson with this intellectual high life, that she could not wait to return to Germany. By January 1834 she expressed this wish and outlined her plans in a letter to Robert Noel. She wanted to go to "Weimar for a month or six weeks and study German very hard, and spend part of [her] time with dear Ottilie" (Macpherson 90). Even while waiting to realize her plans, Jameson cultivated international connections. One evening's guests included Charles (Karl) Vogel (1788-1868), a Dresden painter, and Abraham Hayward "the famous German scholar" (whom she had met in Munich in October 1833), as well as two English painters, an American, Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Opie, and Mrs. Austin[5] (Macpherson 95).

By early summer 1834, Jameson managed to leave London and make her way to Weimar. For the next year, she became embroiled in Ottilie's illicit pregnancy and the birth of a daughter, Anna Sybille, in March 1835. While this traumatic episode and the subsequent conspiracy to deny the event and to arrange for the child's welfare took much of her time and energy, Jameson did not suspend all intellectual activity. She continued to study German both formally and by reading. By autumn of 1835, the matter of Ottilie had been somewhat settled and Jameson could once more enjoy German society and theatre. During this time, Jameson was able to cultivate her German acquaintances from 1833, and to make many more. The letters to Ottilie throughout her entire stay in Germany and Austria, and continuing from London prior to her sailing for Canada (Needler 22-58), are full of names and details that illustrate just how much Jameson had become a part of German society.

At Leipzig, she had conversations with Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809-1847), the "most accomplished and intellectual musician [she] ever met" (Winter

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[5] Sarah Austin (1793-1867) was an important early contributor to a knowledge of German literature and thought in England. Her best known work is Characteristics of Goethe. When Jameson was in England, she kept regular company with Mrs. Austin.

Studies and Summer Rambles 1:137[6]). Born into a "cultured and prosperous family, Mendelssohn had played for Goethe as a boy and became one of the most popular pianists of the Romantic period. Mendelssohn gained recognition not only from his own compositions but also because of his interest in the music of Johannes Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), which he "practically resurrected . . . from oblivion" (NWFE 3412). Thus, Mendelssohn, who shared the philosophical values of the Heidelberg Romanticists discussed above, appealed to Jameson's sense of music in all its potential.

Social occasions at Dresden maintained Jameson's contact with Baron Alexander von Sternberg (1806-1868), a "writer of fantastic ghost stories" (Needler 74) and somewhat reminiscent of E.T.A. Hoffmann. The "two Herders" (Needler 33), granddaughters of the philosopher, acted like yet another thread from the heyday of German Romanticism. Before Christmas of 1835 Jameson returned to Weimar, where she met the scientist and traveller, Alexander Freiherr von Humboldt (1769-1859):

> He struck me, amused me, interested me... He knows everything and everybody, and has seen all countries and all climes from pole to pole... I must confess, however, that I do not agree with his speculations and theories, as I could make them out; but for facts and characters he was delightful--a walking encyclopaedia, a perambulating picture gallery . . . . (Macpherson 103)

Jameson comments vividly on the intellectual qualities of a new acquaintance, while at the same time analyzing her own reactions. In the case of Humboldt, she was obviously impressed with the great store of knowledge acquired through his travels.

Jameson's decision to come to Canada, and the process of readying herself, continued to involve her German friends. She was unhappy at the prospect of leaving Ottilie and her new child: in June, she contrived a plan for them to join her in Canada:

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[6] Unless otherwise stated, all references to Jameson's book are to the three-volume Coles facsimile reprint of 1970.

> But now hear me. If I find that there is a possibility of living with content in that place, and if the world treats you hardly, if you find difficulties about your child, will you come to me there, if I can arrange the means and a home for you with me or near me? (Needler 45)

As the day of departure neared, Jameson substituted artifacts for the people she could not take along:

> All things connected with you must go with me . . . in my cabin I take the Rahel[7] you marked for me, and all the M.S.S. notes which . . . I intend to read . . . during the voyage. Most of my German books go in the ship with me. (Needler 57)

The "German books" include, among others, "Don Carlos, much of Goethe . . . Auersperg's Schült [Müllner's Schuld], Sternberg, Bettine, much of Zedlitz' Totenkranz and some of Hoffman[n]" (Needler 87). She also packed the woolen "Decke" (woolen quilt), the "Fuss Korb" (foot-muff), and an embroidered writing book, which had been gifts of the Goethe family (Needler 58).

From New York, the scheduled stop on Jameson's voyage to Toronto, she writes to Ottilie in a manner which demonstrates that her mind was still in Europe. The enthusiasm with which she was met "reminded [her] in some respects of Vienna" (Needler 66). Seeing an engraving of the Cathedral of Regensburg, her "heart almost stopt" (Needler 67). Some of the people she met remembered her from Germany; friends she had met at Weimar resurfaced. Memories of her time in and expectations for future visits to Germany were to permeate Jameson's mind not only during her time in Canada but for much of the remainder of her life. The idiosyncracies of the

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[7] Rahel Varnhagen von Ense (1771-1833) was a gifted Jewish woman living in Germany and the wife of a Prussian diplomat and writer, Karl Augustus. In her role as women's rights activist, Rahel carried on intellectual and philosophical correspondence with many influential people, and also kept journals. According to Needler, the book from which Jameson quotes is Galerie von Bildnissen aus Rahel's Umgang und Briefwechsel (57). This title does not appear in the National Union Catalogue, which lists instead Galerie Bedeutender Personen Aus dem Verkehr Mit Rahel, Leipzig: Gebrüder Reichenbach, ?1835, 1836. This and several other volumes of her literary output were edited by her husband after Rahel's death.

German people and the philosophy of the German Romantic movement in which Jameson had become immersed never lay too far from her daily thoughts; they gave her a mental basis for comparison when observing life in Canada.

Although Winter Studies and Summer Rambles is not a work of creative literature in the usual sense (it is neither a novel, a play, nor a poem), Jameson's book nevertheless displays in sufficient instances and in its overall structure the basic tenets of German Romanticism that Friedrich Schlegel first expressed in his Athenaeum Fragment 116 (Appendix I). We will see in Jameson the requisite universality of subject matter; she incorporates art, religion, science and philosophy into her commentary on Canada. That these subjects seem to be jumbled together in no apparent form reflect the fluidity and versatility that Schlegel mentions. Quite often Jameson will choose to represent a character whose main virtue is survival and success in a difficult environment: she thereby encourages original genius, as did the German Romanticists. From acknowledging the powers within an individual, Jameson moves easily to perceiving external forces, and she will yield to the limitless chaos of infinity, particularly with regard to the Canadian landscape. Emotion is most often the medium for Jameson's understanding of this new world, just as the symbols of emotion carried the German Romanticist through the vague and incomprehensible of the old world. In writing about Canada, Jameson writes about herself, as did Goethe when writing Tasso, or Hoffmann when writing Don Juan. Finally, Jameson's journey--both mental and physical--finds no ultimate perfection but rather keeps renewing itself and remains "ever becoming" through continual associations and digressions.

Not only the unquestionable evidence of Jameson's prose but also her expression of German ideas, people, and art, reflect a German Romantic influence in Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada. At this most crucial moment in her life, a decided mental paradox had developed in Jameson's mind: she had suffered emotional upheaval over an unsettled marriage while allowing herself to become embroiled in friendships and intimate relationships in a "foreign" society that began to feel like home to her. The irony of her situation is clear, her yearning understandable. Now she stood at the threshold of yet another society, and face to face with the Canadian winter. Thus, with eyes formed to a great extent by, and still fixed on, her German experience, Jameson began journalizing for Winter Studies.

CHAPTER III

JAMESON'S WINTER STUDIES

Jameson's travels and activities in the years immediately preceding the trip to Canada in 1836 had shown her the benefits of a cosmopolitan life; consequently, she found the society in Toronto "boring," the daily routine "monotonous," and her personal life indifferent. She could not easily picture what "Toronto may be in summer," except to acknowledge that "they say it is a pretty place" (1:2). But though her physical activities were severely limited by the wintry climate, and her mental state was depressed by the isolation from the society and family she had left behind in Europe, Jameson did not remain idle. She spent much time "reading and writing to keep her negative emotions under control, but also in order to establish the theoretical framework that [would] enable her to assess correctly the phenomena she [would] encounter" in the farther reaches of Upper Canada (Sigrist 110). Furthermore, that "theoretical framework"--the philosophical and aesthetic perception with which she would observe Upper Canada--was directly influenced by the tenets of German Romanticism.

Many of the books that Jameson chose to read and study were the German texts she had brought along. In her letters to Ottilie prior to embarkation, she lists some of them: "the Rahel you marked for me, and all the M.S.S. notes which you made for me" (Needler 57), "[Schiller's] Don Carlos, much of Goethe (chiefly poetry and theatre), Auersperg's Schult[1], Sternberg, Bettine, much of Zedlitz' Totenkranz and some of Hoffmann . . . Eckermann's book and a good deal of Queen Louisa [of Prussia] (Needler 87). Mentioned directly in Winter Studies are Oehlenschläger, Rückert, Lenau, and Grillparzer. (These authors and their works will be treated in detail below.) Until she actually sets out for her "Summer Rambles" on 27 June 1837--that is, until she leaves Niagara on the stage-coach (2:86)-- Jameson's recorded narrative is interspersed with her evaluation of these books and her associations arising from reading them. Her discussions of and reactions to Eckermann alone, for example, take up no less than eighty-four pages. Scattered elsewhere are a further sixty pages. To a large extent, then, Jameson's narrative persona, her style and technique, as well as the subject matter she chooses to present, reflect this direct German presence. The indirect influence of the German component is equally pervasive, both in this first portion as well as in the rest of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada.

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[1] Needler notes this is "a slip for Müllner's Schuld" (57).

Jameson arrived in Toronto on 20 December 1836, amid snow and mud, and began her narrative in a peevish tone. One can almost see her pouting as she relates initial facts about Toronto while attempting to maintain an objective distance, "as per book" (1:1). But within the space of a few paragraphs, she summons up her intellectual strength and echoes the maxim of Peter Kolb, an early German empiricist-based traveller: "I made it a Rule not to believe any Thing I did not see of which a Sight could not be had" (Pratt 43). Revolutionary words in 1719, they had become the standard introductory stance for travel narrators by 1836. Jameson's version is as follows:

> I know no better way of coming at the truth, than by observing and recording faithfully the impressions made by objects and characters on my own mind--or rather, the impress they receive from my own mind. Neither do I know any better way than this of conveying to the mind of another, the truth, and nothing but the truth, if not the whole truth. (1:3)

In Toronto in the winter of 1836-1837, the matter of truth became more than a rhetorical figure for Jameson. Following the same requirements as a witness taking the stand in court proceedings, she strove to establish her credibility. Travel writers, perhaps more than writers of fiction, needed to assure the reader of the truthfulness of their statements. As we will see, Goethe's penchant for truth as expressed in his plays and in Eckermann's book, together with Jameson's own methods, prepared her well.

One way that Jameson had already developed for "coming at the truth" was through her journals. From an early age, she had been in the habit of keeping two journals, "one of them a diary record of places and events, the other, always kept 'under lock and key,' a faithful account of her own impressions, of interesting anecdotes and descriptions of scenery" (Thomas 28). Her first published work, The Diary of an Ennuyeé (1826), which Thomas calls a "fictionalized travel-biography" (29), was likely composed from just such a system of journals. In Memoirs of the Loves of the Poets (1829) and Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns (1831), Jameson displayed the "instincts of a scholar" (Thomas 49) by collecting and providing--possibly from a research journal--historical and biographical footnotes. In Characteristics of Women (1832), Jameson first used the device of an introductory "dialogue between 'Alda' and 'Medon' (Anna herself and a gentleman friend)" which enabled her "to state her position and, particularly, announce her intentions in this present book" (Thomas 59). In Part I of Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad (1834), a similar dialogue identifies Alda as Jameson the traveller returning home to England, and Medon as the homebound gentleman friend. The social comments and personal opinions that Alda offers may well have originated in Jameson's private journal, while the factual and chronological accounts that comprise Part II of the book could ostensibly have come from her personal "diary."

Jameson maintains this overall two-part structure in Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, but one quickly recognizes this new book, particularly Winter Studies, to be different from her previous work. Gone is the artifice of an imaginary dialogue; instead, Winter Studies, if we were to call it "Part I," covers a definite span of time framing a jumble of personal observations and reported anecdotes about life in Toronto. These are interspersed with impassioned reports on her desultory studies and quasi-critical comments on the fine arts which are based almost exclusively on the German texts she had with her. Summer Rambles, on the other hand, is more conventionally structured as a travel narrative and follows Jameson's active travel through Upper Canada. Just as she did when recording her European travels, Jameson concerns herself with the here and now in "Part II" of her book.

After a month in Toronto, after having written truthfully but randomly about social visits, cold weather, the town and the roads, cold weather, her first contact with Indians, cold weather, the clergy reserve question, and cold weather, Jameson began "to be ashamed of recording idle days and useless days" (1:38). She wrote to her father that she had been "out of the house twice; once in a sleigh to return visits and once a short walk to visit Mrs. Draper" (Erskine 141). While awaiting her winter excursion to Niagara, which she was advised to take for reasons of health, Jameson turned to her books, and for the next few days immersed herself in German drama.

The first was the tragedy of Corregio (1808) by Adam Gottob Oehlenschläger (1779-1850),[2] in which the delayed "apotheosis of the artist hero" (1:45) replaces the standard tragic flaw. Three aspects of German Romanticism emerge prominently from this play. First, as Jameson emphasizes, the theme is not "low ambition and the pride of kings . . . but ART, high art--its power as developed within the individual soul--its influence on the mind of others" (1:40-41). Oehlenschläger lifts the emotional life of the creative individual to the heights formerly occupied only by kings. Second, this "perfectly individualized" character (1:41) has the talent of "blending . . . the purely natural with the purely ideal, in his conceptions of beauty" (1:45). Not only is Corregio a natural Genius, which even the villain, Battista, admits--"everything comes straight from Nature, out of his spirit onto the paper" (Oehlenschläger 61)--but also the characters Michael Angelo (Michelangelo Buonarroti 1475-1564) and Giulio Romano (1492-1546) discuss the same question at length. Oehlenschläger then employs the conflicts of plot to launch a debate between the two great artists about the relative value of perfection and feelings in art. The latter gains the upper hand, appropriately reflecting Oehlenschläger's Romantic philosophy. By assigning an emotional and intellectual catharsis to this drama, Jameson demonstrates her understanding of the work and the German Romantic ideals displayed therein.

In contrast, Die Schuld (Guilt; 1816) by Adolf Müllner (1774-1829), does not "produce such an overpowering effect on the imagination" for Jameson as it did when she first read it a year earlier (1:40,48). Nevertheless, she acknowledges the play's irreconcilable conflict between the "sentiment of the North and the South" (1:48), as it is delineated in the temperament of the Danish and Spanish characters. The struggle, caused by passion and lust, is framed by Müllner in the popular German Romantic subgenre, the fate drama or "Schicksalstragödie" (OCGL 641). A significant pair of images in this play illustrates the destructiveness of supercharged nature: this phenomenon is represented on the one hand by the northern hunt, in which Hugo is temporarily "lost," but returns exhausted and content (I; II.1.5-9) and, on the other hand, by the erotic fantasy that Elvira experienced in her native Spain, in which Hugo is a tiger about to devour her (I.ix.16-20, 37). Both are mysteries; both are those same "speculations upon the involuntary restraint endured by human beings whose lives are directed by an inscrutable force of nature" already anticipated by Tieck (Walzel 264).

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[2] Oehlenschläger, who was introduced to German Romanticism by H. Steffens in 1802, wrote his dramas on the models of Goethe and Schiller. He wrote mostly in Danish, also translating Ludwig Tieck's works into his native tongue, but Corregio is written in German (OCGL 680). The main character is modeled after the painter Antonio Allegri da Corregio (1494-1534).

While Jameson's discussions of her German books are knowledgeable, she is not primarily concerned with literary analysis: to her, the underlying ideas are self-evident and are therefore absorbed subconsciously. Rather, she sometimes uses her discussion as springboards to introduce personal comments and anecdotes; in other words, she continues to take "a certain amount of pleasure from the self-dramatization" which she seems always to have enjoyed (Thomas 24). While reviewing Müllner's Schuld, she diverges as follows:

> What a slight touch upon an extreme link will send us back sometimes through a long, long chain of memories and associations! A word, a name, has sent me from Toronto to Vienna: what a flight! what a contrast!--it makes even Fancy herself breathless! (1:49)

A lively criticism of the play's production in Vienna ensues. The section ends with a dramatic account from the life of Madame Arneth, the principal actress whom Jameson numbers among her friends. Thus, her first venture into "studies" ends with Jameson and friends at center stage, establishing a pattern that is repeated throughout Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada. In practice, Jameson exhibits an autobiographical quality, thinly veiled, which is reminiscent of Schlegel's statement in

Athenaeum Fragment 116: "many artists who started out to write only a novel ended up by providing us with a portrait of themselves" (Firchow 175).

Equally important is the effect that Jameson's reading has on her mood. The positive anticipation with which she greets her first outing to Niagara is far removed from the mental lethargy of which she complained earlier. After having "read and scribbled away two long days," she looks forward to her "intended excursion . . . with almost childish pleasure and impatience" (1:63). If there had been no record of the two previous days, as, for example, in the McClelland & Stewart edition of 1965, the change in Jameson's mood would be difficult to grasp, for it shifts dramatically from one of near despair--"my heart was dying within me, gasping and panting for change of some kind--any kind" (32) to comfort and readiness for adventure--"thus fortified and accoutred [sic], off we flew" (34). Jameson's reading and writing activity, placed in the text so as to precede her trip to Niagara, suggests that her reversal of mood is at least partly attributable to her reaction to this literature.

Jameson's winter excursion to Niagara Falls ultimately caused a further transformation in her outlook, but her narration continues, for a time, in terms and images of high art. "Nature," she writes, "lies down to rest on the bosom of Winter, and the aged one folds her in his robe of ermine and jewels, and rocks her with his hurricanes, and hushes her to sleep" (1:84). Both nature and winter are personified within a vivid image. Thus, the preceding discussion of German Romantic drama creates a link between Jameson's cognitive and intellectual experience. Helen Buss, in her article entitled "Anna Jameson's Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada as Epistolary Dijournal" (1992), takes a different approach in exploring Jameson's transformation. To Buss, the experience at Niagara in winter is "the vehicle by which [Jameson] can effect personal change while overcoming the sense of helpless passivity that her husband's place, Toronto, imposes on her" (47). A close reading of the text, however, shows this episode to be more than an intrepid escape from male domination or a "humorous moment" of self-introduction as "the traveling cultural critic" (Buss 47). Rather, Jameson feels initially disappointed but later enthralled by the Falls, thereby experiencing an epiphany that truly does "subdue" her soul and render her more careful in formulating her expectations in this new country. She admits having listened to expressions of "astonishment, enthusiasm, [and] rapture" (1:82) which contributed to her illusion. But Jameson does not accuse the authors of those sources; she blames only herself. And this is the direction Helen Buss does not pursue in her article, for it leads to an episode in individual self-knowledge that is not necessarily limited to women. (Thomas Cary's description of Niagara Falls in "Abram's Plains: A Poem" [1789] comes to mind.) Jameson flails herself mercilessly with the language of familiar and classical symbolism. She describes herself as "an ass's head, a clod, a wooden spoon, a fat weed growing on Lethe's bank, a stock, a stone, a petrifaction." (1:83) These are words of violence and punishment, and images of increasingly horrible consequences that affect an individual's life force.[3] This acknowledgement of nature's power--Niagara Falls--as inextricably linked to the individual's well-being, yet capable of transcending human thought processes, is indicative of Jameson's familiarity with specific German Romantic ideas. Jameson "loses" herself in the "chaos" of Niagara; to her the Falls are an "incomprehensible" phenomenon that can only be "understood emotionally through the power of symbols" (Dufner and Hubbs 5).

The personal metamorphosis resulting from an experience, whether in nature or in art, is a common theme in German Romantic literature. The work of Ernst Theodor Amadeus (E.T.A.) Hoffmann (1776-1822) provides an example. His Don Juan (1812) is a semi-autobiographical, quasi-critical tale of a traveller who sees a performance of Mozart's opera of 1787 (now usually known as Don Giovanni) in the theatre of a small town, and who experiences a transformation of his understanding of the work and, by extension, of human nature.[4]

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[3] In medieval art, the "ass's head" was sometimes associated with a sacrificial victim, but even its association with the jester figure indicate suffering. The "clod" connotes a dull, stupid fellow who must bear ridicule and violence against his person. The "wooden spoon" is a common domestic instrument of punishment. A "fat weed . . . on Lethe's bank" indicates a life without memory, and to be turned into "stock" or "stone"--to become petrified--is the consequence of looking at a forbidden object (Biedermann).

The first-person narrator in Don Juan also begins, as did Jameson, with certain expectations of what he is about to see. But when Donna Anna, the principal female character and victim of Don Juan's seduction, appears--one is not certain whether in person or spirit only--in the narrator's theatre box between acts, a series of revelations occurs to change those preconceived notions of the meaning of Mozart's work. "Only then," explains the narrator, "as she spoke about Don Juan, about her role, were the depths of the masterwork opened up to me, so that I could look into its strange world and recognize clearly its fantastic phenomena" (Ryder 113; Harich 145). In the music, he begins to understand the "most secret premonitions of the soul" (113; 146); in Donna Anna's scene he feels himself "transported into drunken sensuality" (114; 146). After this preternatural visitation during the performance, a second level of awareness and understanding is explored by way of intellectual analysis shared in a personal correspondence: "I become master over my feelings, and am in the mood to share with you, my Theodor, how I finally believe to comprehend the great work of the divine master" (115; 149). Hoffmann then analyzes the character of Don Juan as a "spoilt child" of Nature, endowed with "all that which raises mankind into a relationship with the divine" (116; 150), but who is tricked by the devil into a gross misunderstanding of satisfaction and fulfilment in mortal life. Donna Anna, "as representative of the highest favours of Nature, [is] juxtaposed with Don Juan" (118; 152), but does not escape the "wanton insanity" (118; 153) that prevents her resisting her own seduction. At the end of Hoffmann's story, the intellect is reunited with subjective emotionalism and the actress dies from her involvement with her role.

Hoffmann's critique illustrates a deep commitment to the idealization of human passion as a "natural" phenomenon that is nevertheless tied to intellectual conflicts between good and evil. The concept that an individual's yearning for satisfaction in mortal experience is laced with sin against the gifts of nature, textualized in Hoffmann's Don Juan, emerges also in Jameson's perception of her disappointment with Niagara Falls. References to the soul indicate its proximity to religious guilt and confession. "What has come over my soul and senses?" (1:83) and "[m]y very soul sank within me" (1:86) number among her expressions of disappointment. She had expected "soul-subduing beauty" (1:86) and found, instead, that she had been tricked by those very expectations. When, on a second visit to the falls, Jameson finds herself somewhat appeased, her objective intellect succeeds in transforming her understanding. Nevertheless, she leaves the reader with a symbolic image:

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[4] References to Hoffmann's Don Juan are to a manuscript of my unpublished translation (included herein as Appendix II) of the work as it appears in volume 1 of Hoffmann's works edited by Walther Harich.

> Then, as at last I turned away, the descending sun broke out, and an Iris appeared below the American Fall, one extremity resting on a snow mound; and motionless there it hung in the midst of restless terrors, its beautiful but rather pale hues contrasting with the death-like colourless objects around; it reminded me of the faint ethereal smile of a dying martyr. (1:91)

In the final analysis, although Jameson did not realize her anticipated emotional reward at Niagara Falls, she learned something about herself and about human nature.

Jameson's strong sense of self-analysis and her need to continue learning soon directed her back to her books. After she reports on local politics and histories during February, and breaks "the monotony of this, the most monotonous existence" (1:107) with a vivid account of a devastating fire, she once again takes "refuge in another and higher world," the world of Goethe's dramas, "the Iphigenia, the Tasso, and the Egmont" (1:119), as well as Clavigo. The first three are generally considered to be examples of Goethe's classicist works, while the fourth is a more current, domestic piece. However, despite such classifications and labels, all four dramas reflect the conflicts and ideals of German Romanticism.

Iphigenie auf Tauris (1787) is set in an ancient kingdom of Thoas adjacent to Greece. Iphigenie has been kidnapped and is being held there by King Thoas, albeit in the revered position of priestess at the temple of Diana. Notwithstanding the traditional Greek dramatic framework, the main course of action tends toward the human and emotional rather than divine and predictable, thereby reflecting German Romantic ideals. At the height of the drama, Iphigenie is torn among three duties, that toward her benevolent captor, toward the goddess Diana, and toward her brother Orest who has arrived on the scene. She finds herself involuntarily drawn toward her natural kin. By manipulating the king's sense of moral passion, Iphigenie succeeds in convincing him not only to let them leave Thoas unharmed but also to give them his blessing, thereby promoting peace between the two countries and perfecting the motif of yearning for the homeland. For the audience, this foreshadows the strong nationalistic drive prevalent with the later German Romanticists. Jameson's comments on the play revolve around its truthfulness: "[t]he basis of the character [Iphigenie] is truth. The drama is the very triumph of unsullied, unflinching truth" (1:125). To Jameson, she is the personification of Goethe's "sublime idea of the passive heroism of female nature" (1:125) and a character with whom she associates her own nature. In this drama, which puts feeling above all else, Goethe shows himself again, as he does in Wilhelm Meister, as the reluctant Romanticist.

Jameson was impressed by Goethe's Torquato Tasso, written between 1780 and 1790 but not performed until 1807. To her, "Tasso [is] all emotion . . . the strife between the poetic and prosaic nature" (1:119-120); reading it left her in "a depth of emotion which [she had] never felt but after reading Hamlet" (1:120). But as she points out in the same passage, the tragedy is effected without evil or violence; rather, it rests on "truth of . . . character" and "simplicity of . . . mind" (1:120). We could well call it a psychological tragedy, one that displays Goethe's "understanding for and criticism of a type of Romantic artist" (OCGL 897). Indeed, the subject matter of the play addresses three distinct German Romantic tenets. First, Leonore and the Princess describe Tasso as a poet whose "[m]ind gathers that which is far flung/[a]nd whose feelings enliven the inanimate" (Goethe, Dramen und Novellen 317). Second, Tasso's work remains in an "unfinished" state, as Alfons, his patron, first points out: "[h]e cannot end, cannot complete/[h]e revises constantly, moves slowly forward/[s]tands still again . . . " (319). Tasso himself admits that "I know too well, still it remains unfinished" (323) and at the end of the play still acknowledges that "[r]evise it I will, complete it never" (394). Finally, this drama touches on the artist's habit of losing himself in creativity. Leonore says, "[h]is eye hardly touches the earth," to which the Princess adds that "the poet . . . floats in the land of dreams" (317). Again Tasso's speech is in accord; on listening to stories of the old masters, he feels that he is "sinking away" from himself and fears that, "like Echo, [he] would disappear into the boulder" (334).

Torquato Tasso is set in Italy and is based on episodes in the life of the epic poet by the same name (1544-1595), particularly on his difficulties with the poem "Jerusalem Delivered" (1575). Although the setting and historical time, and much of its action, place this work in the classicist tradition, the late eighteenth-century view of the artist is firmly lodged in the plot and characterization. In 1827, Goethe confided to his companion, Johann Peter Eckermann (1792-1854), that this play was "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh" (OCGL). Another autobiography, thinly veiled. Reading Tasso, Jameson was once again exposed to underlying German Romantic ideals.

Goethe said that the Egmont (1778-1787) was a "most difficult task" which he never thought he would finish (Goethe, Dramen 664). This historical tragedy, which, to Jameson, is "all action and passion" with "deep wisdom [and] knowledge of human nature in every scene" (1:120, 121), is today classified outside the German Romantic sphere, yet illustrates Romantic ideals. In her book, Jameson comments only on the "womanly natural" female character, Clärchen, but she could not have failed to notice the individualistic Egmont, a "personality that rests wholly in itself, in the beautiful harmony of full strength, full lust and love toward life" (Goethe, Dramen 665). The play, based on the struggles of Count Lamoral Egmont (1522-1568) during the Counter-Reformation, celebrates the genius of the individual as prescribed by the German Romanticists.

Jameson closes her discussion of this drama with a question: "Why do you not finish your translation of the Egmont? who will ever do it as you can?" (1:121). This question is puzzling unless one considers what she knew of translating as a commercial activity among her friends in Germany. Ottilie von Goethe, for one, had been translating literary works from German to English, first by Goethe's wish, and, after she was widowed, by necessity. In a letter to Adele Schopenhauer in November 1833, Ottilie enlists her friend's help to find some translation work, for both herself and her mother, adding that while her mother would like to work on novels, she would prefer to work with sermons, statistical or historical texts (Houben 6, 8-9). Together with Charles Des Voeux, an Englishman, she had already translated Torquato Tasso (Mangold 31). Jameson's question about translating the Egmont was most likely directed to Ottilie.

The individual love tragedy, Clavigo (1774) causes Jameson's sensitive mind "terrible and profound pain--yes, pain! worse and deeper than mere emotion" (1:121-122). In this drama, an irreconcilable conflict rages in Clavigo's mind, a dilemma spurred by his friend Carlos. The question is whether to marry Marie Beaumarchais or reject her yet a second time. In this tragedy, Tieck's statement (see above, 43) is demonstrated in Clavigo, whose passion is the "inscrutable force of nature" that directs his life. Yet he is "involuntarily restrained" from following his feelings, "endures" the torment, and suffers the consequences. Jameson mirrors Tieck with her own philosophy: "never yet were the feelings and instincts of our nature violated with impunity; never yet was the voice of conscience silenced without retribution" (1:123-124).

Later in the spring, Jameson read several more German dramas. With three tragedies of Franz Grillparzer (1791-1872) and a historical drama of Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) she "took refuge in another and a higher world" (1:119). Grillparzer's dramas are usually considered as "representative of the German classic period" (NWFE 2097), but to Jameson his work seems "essentially lyric, rather than dramatic: . . . the character, the sentiment, are always more artistically evolved than the situation or action" (1:286). In her comments here as elsewhere, Jameson praises all that is "natural," all that is the "common course of things" (1:287). In re-reading Schiller's Don Carlos (1787), she begins with an analysis of the character Marquis von Posa, to her an "abstract" and, therefore, perfect man: "Every woman, methinks, would like a Posa for a lover--at least, if I could love, it would be such a man" (2:57). In a similar vein, the character of Elizabeth of France is to Jameson the perfect woman, "the self-confiding simplicity,--the dignity without assumption,--the virtue" (2:60) that could pair with such a man as Posa. Emotions run high throughout the entire drama, and nowhere more than between Posa and Don Carlos, another man who endures "the involuntary restraint" of an "inscrutable force of nature." The act of reading these dramas confirmed in Jameson the philosophical dimension to which she had become accustomed. It also furnished her with an intellectual outlet that she could not, or chose not, to pursue in Toronto in the winter of 1837.

By March, although the coldest season was coming to an end, Jameson still complains that her "spirits are wearied, and [her] fingers are frozen" (1:167). On 8 March she writes, "[b]efore the languid heart gasp and flutter itself to death, like a bird in an exhausted receiver, let us see what can be done, for something must be done" (1:170). She is conscious of her need to maintain her mental alertness, "for it will be needed" (1:172), ostensibly for the trip into the wilderness which she mentions here for the first time in the book: "[l]et it be spring come again, and I will take to myself wings and fly off to the west" (1:171). Until such physical escape becomes possible, she looks for a "mechanical means," some "serious and useful occupation" (1:172), and finds it in translation.

An uncirculated copy of Gespräche mit Goethe (Conversations with Goethe; 1835) by Johann Peter Eckermann (1792-1854) was among the books Jameson had brought to Canada. According to subsequent dated sections in her narrative, this activity kept her occupied from 10 to 14 March, and then again from 16 to 18 March. Discussion of this book and her reactions to it take up nearly eighty pages of the Jameson's narrative, but there is no indication that she continued with the translation[5].

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[5] Eckermann's book was first translated by Sarah Margaret Fuller (1810-1850) and published, with "some omissions and condensations" by Hilliard, Gray & Co. of Boston in 1839. The translation by John Oxenford (1812-1877), first published in London and New York by G. Bell and Sons in 1850, became the basis for most subsequent editions of Conversations with Goethe (NUC). Jameson's "copy" was one which "she had got from Ottilie as she left Weimar, and before it was in circulation" (Needler, 87).

Her immediate reward for working with this text is a re-animation of the great author and a re-examination of the essence of his thinking. She correctly notes that this is Eckermann's--and therefore no one else's--portrait of Goethe (1:175); nevertheless, Jameson revels in making many direct references and quotations, and in adding her approbation. Working through Eckermann's book provides Jameson with a wealth of detail for her own associations and anecdotes about people and situations, about literature and philosophy. She offers this material to her reader in an easy, almost gossipy, style, all the while echoing Goethe's own strong penchant for truth.

In this section, Jameson includes an episode that suggests her ability to deal with supernatural phenomena. Working on Eckermann's book late one night filled her "head full of all manner of thoughts and memories and fancies" (1:215); the next day, she considers the supernatural:

> How far are our perceptions confined to our outward senses? Can any one tell?--for that our perceptions are not wholly confined to impressions taken in by the outward senses seems the only one thing proved; and are such sensible impressions the only real ones? (1:218)

To analyze her own duality--here the question is whether or not she believes in ghosts, and the answer is both "no" and "yes"--Jameson relates the details of an evening of ghost story telling in Goethe's house at Weimar. No Frankenstein had resulted from the "strange, the overpowering, deliciously awful feelings of those well-remembered moments" (1:227), but the image of Jameson, candelabra in hand, hearing Goethe's clock strike midnight, is highly theatrical.

The purpose for this self-dramatization seems to be her desire to compare herself directly with Goethe. In her description of "Goethe's Last Love," Jameson shows extraordinary admiration for the "man of strong sense [who] resolved to free himself" from his untimely passion (1:187), "conquered" it, and soon "betook himself to his usual remedy . . . hard work" (1:188). To Jameson, raising oneself up by sheer mental strength is a positive attribute that she stresses repeatedly, an attribute that other German Romantic works also echo (see Hoffmann's Don Juan, Appendix II, 118). By portraying herself as the "calm spirit," the "reasonable self," revived immediately after the ghostly scene in Goethe's house, Jameson emphasizes this quality in herself. As "'queen o'er [her]self'" (1:227) she emerges victorious and carries on with her work, aided by a "file for the serpent" the next day. Interestingly, she uses the same phrase for Goethe: "He found 'a file for the serpent,' and was soon deep in his new theory of colours and his botanical research" (1:188).

Jameson admired this versatility of intellectual activity in Goethe and the other authors she discusses, never failing to point to their many-sided interests. One of the ideals of the German Romanticists was to unite all fields of knowledge, to value the empirical as well as the subjective approach, and to incorporate art, religion, science and philosophy in their works. Goethe was a living example of this ideal, and Jameson, by gaining familiarity of his lifestyle and philosophy through Eckermann's book, subscribed to it also. Another example of Jameson using Goethe's words as her own will illustrate this point. Speaking about the creative artist, he says, "It is not good for man to be alone" (1:244). These words Jameson later echoes while speaking to Colonel Talbot about his long career:

> I said it was granted to few to live a life of such complete retirement, and at the same time such general utility; . . . and I added that I was glad to see him so happy.
>
> "Why yes, I'm very happy here"--and then the old man sighed.
>
> I understood that sigh, and in my heart echoed it. No, "it is not good for man to be alone." (2:200)

Building her self-styled persona of a cosmopolitan intellectual with such connections, Jameson moves easily from one subject to the next, her tone shifting as the moment requires. Her fluctuating style is mirrored in the various forms taken by her narrative, which may resemble a journal entry here, a letter there, a philosophical fragment elsewhere. Her book is not framed rigidly in numbered chapters, and the discrepancy between the topics listed in the Table of Contents of each volume and the running headers adds to the "chaos" of her experience in Canada.

The lyrical poems of Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866) and Nicolaus Lenau (1802-1850), two poets of the second phase of German Romanticism, command

Jameson's attention next. She compares the "exquisite little lyrics" (1:284) of Rückert to those of Thomas Moore (1779-1852) but does not elaborate on Rückert's similarity to Wordsworth in terms of the pure simplicity with which Rückert paints his word pictures of the harmony between nature and mankind. Lenau she calls a "priest of Nature" (1:284) for the uncanny way that nature speaks through his verse. Her favourite, "Der Postilion" (The Mail Coach Driver), touches on the themes common to Lenau's darkly lyrical verse: night, death, and solitude are all there; but so are brotherhood, compassion, and remembrance. She does not mention his poem, "Die drei Indianer" (The Three Indians), inspired by Lenau's tour of America in 1832-1833[6]; this poem of profound human drama played out at the edge of Niagara Falls would certainly have interested Jameson.

Her "amusement" with these literary works, so widely divergent in genre, subject matter, and tone, precedes her excursion to Erindale and the romanticized tale of its inhabitants,[7] and it moves her toward her summer journey. And although the textual division between the two parts of her book appears immediately thereafter, Jameson does not yet leave her German texts. Her critique of Baron Alexander von Sternberg (1806-1868), "whom [she] knew in Germany" (2:9), and the other "modern novel writers" (2:13) shows Jameson, more completely than before, in her role as cosmopolitan intellectual persona. She examines "fiction-writing" on a wide temporal and spacial scale, dropping names of English, French, and German writers, from Shakespeare to Hoffmann. She tries to place Sternberg's "comic and fantastic tales" into a category of "pathos and poetry" (2:16), but on the whole, does not appear to be impressed with his work. She ends this section, fittingly, with a series of philosophical fragments, imitating Bettina von Arnim and Rahel Varnhagen von Ense (1771-1833), who both practised this form in their writings.

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[6] Jameson most likely had access to Lenau's first volume of poems, Gedichte, 1832. Poems from his American tour were most likely included in the volume Neuere Gedichte, 1838 (OCGL 548).

[7] The "Mr. M * * *" of Jameson's Erindale section was the Rev. James Magrath (1769-1851). A lively account of the Magrath family experience is found in Authentic Letters from Upper Canada (1833), edited by a son, Thomas Radcliff.

With the relation of Jameson's own dream, which supposedly followed upon a reading of Sternberg's "Herr vom Mondschein" (2:68-71), a personal performance is once more prompted by one of her German books, and she also employs a common literary convention. The dream describes a "[b]eing . . . which went up and down upon our world lamenting" (2:70), a Being that, through divine intervention, escapes its earthly bonds at the price of the good it had been accustomed to spreading. This dream is treated by Helen Buss as a statement outlining the failure of transcendence, thereby signalling Jameson's "refusal of Romantic detachment" (51). Keeping in mind that Buss uses the general definition of "Romantic" and not one related specifically to German Romanticism, the reading she offers remains theoretical. However, it is highly unlikely that, not having resorted to such symbolic passages elsewhere in her book, Jameson would suddenly throw us a "riddle of the sphinx." Rather, having traced Jameson's use of her German texts in this study, I would conclude that the dream is another instance of the usual theatrics she practises throughout her narrative.

Buss comments further that Jameson's review of Schiller's Don Carlos is "a seemingly unrelated discussion" at an "important nexus of the text" (50). Again, Buss does not consider the significant role that all the German texts have so far played in keeping Jameson spiritually motivated while she moved from being a total stranger in a foreign land to saying her good-byes to "friends" in Toronto. Through her German books, she felt all the yearning, the irony, the duality, and the paradox of German Romanticism that she had experienced personally during her travels in the preceding years. Throughout Winter Studies, she augments her own philosophy with that of the German Romantic authors she reads and studies, thereby strengthening and confirming her eclectic and humanistic outlook on life. When she finally embarked on her summer tour, Jameson left most of her German books behind. She took, "besides the one book needful,[8]" only three books which she found "sufficient for all purposes,--Shakespeare, Schiller, Wordsworth" (2:55). As she moves away from civilization, Jameson's references to her German books and her associations with Germany decrease somewhat. Nevertheless, the ensuing narrative of Jameson's summer tour reflects the theoretical and aesthetic framework developed during her tenure as stationary traveller in Toronto.

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[8] I assume that the "one book needful" is the Bible.

CHAPTER IV

JAMESON'S SUMMER RAMBLES

Summer Rambles in Canada, the second part of Jameson's book, begins with two epigraphs. The first of these, by Wordsworth, addresses the experience of the solitary traveller: even though you travel alone, your mind will gather pictures for remembrance. The second epigraph, from Rahel Varnhagen von Ense, suggests that "pleasure sits in flower cups, and comes out once a year as fragrance" (2:1). By their difference in mood and imagery, these two quotations act as cues to the romantic irony that pervades the rest of Jameson's narrative. An attempt to express her approach to Upper Canada illustrates this point:

> It would be possible, looking at things under one aspect, to draw such a picture . . . as would shock you, and tempt you to regard Canada as a place of exile for convicts. On the other hand, I could . . . give you such vivid pictures of the beauty and fertility of this land of the west, of its glorious capabilities for agriculture and commerce, of the goodness and kindliness and resources of . . . human nature . . . as would transport you in fancy into an earthly elysium. Thus, as I travel on, I am disgusted, or I am enchanted; I despair or exult by turns; and these inconsistent and apparently contradictory emotions and impressions I set down as they arise . . . . (2:236-237)

The antithesis suggested is exemplified time and again in Jameson's sometimes subtle, but more often explicit, observations of civilization and nature, of white and native cultures. While she intends merely to "set down" her impressions and leave the reader to "reconcile them as well as [he or she] can" (2:237), we realize from the text that Jameson does in fact reconcile the perceived paradox, and does finally learn to appreciate her manifold experience in Canada, although her understanding is usually reached emotionally, and often through symbols.

Jameson grew to understand Toronto, partly with the help of her winter reading and studying; she learned to interpret the rest of Upper Canada within a similar framework of ideas. When the mind is saturated, as Jameson's was in 1837 with her experience of German literature and culture, then we may speculate that her new undertaking, her summer rambles, will show some continuity of thought from that previous experience. The research and proof of influence, or "Quellenforschung," in art and literature is a tricky issue. Consider, for instance, Paul F. Baum's careful analysis of the origin of G.D. Rossetti's "The Blessed Damozel." Scholars have traced aspects of the poem to Dante and have made statements such as, "[h]is parallels, both of idea and of phrasing, are those of diligently seeking for parallels" (Baum xxxiv). Baum argues that tracking phrases and ideas to some source is not valid by itself. Instead, he insists that what the imagination "bodies forth" depends on the larger body of the artist's knowledge, including a knowledge of the ideology from which the source stemmed. The valid question, then, which I will herein apply to the Summer Rambles portion of Jameson's book, is to ask how and why the conventional nineteenth-century travel narrative is being reworked. By taking a close look at the textual treatment of the people Jameson meets, both immigrants and Indians, as well as her description of the landscape, whether settled or natural, one can see how Jameson's prior experience significantly affected the remainder of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada.

As Jameson explains in the Preface, "personal feeling" and philosophy lie at the foundation of her perception of Canada. In the process of editing her book for publication, she "found that to extract the tone of personal feeling, on which the whole series of action and observation depended, was like drawing the thread out of a string of beads--the chain of linked ideas and experiences fell to pieces" (1:vii). Her assurance of sentiment and wholeness is not an idle comment, for she strives to provide a complete picture throughout. "Unluckily I am no botanist," she laments at Erindale when she cannot identify certain windflowers (1:315). When she learns of the historical conflicts involving Pontiac and Tecumseh, she wishes for "some eloquent historian . . . to throw over these events the light of a philosophical mind, and all the picturesque and romantic interest of which they are capable" (2:332). Although Jameson does not pretend to be either scientist or historian, her narrative in fact satisfies on both points, for her observations of places and people are eclectic, frequently lead to philosophical reflection, and are often embellished picturesque and romantic descriptions.

Jameson's sense of judging people was well-developed by the time she made her tour of Upper Canada, but she reminds us of her posture in that regard in connection with Eckermann's book on Goethe: "not only where we have to deal with marked and distinguished characters, but in the common intercourse of life," we should "never judge a character by hearsay" (1:176). Of all the white people she meets in Canada, Jameson chooses to represent only certain types in dialogue; that is, in their own words, "as nearly as possible" (2:161). These include the witty Yankee boy at Niagara in Winter, the eloquent gentleman from the "western settlements" looking for a wife, the "self-possessed" emigrant boy who drove her to Colonel Talbot's, and, briefly, the old colonel himself. These characters share certain attributes: with a strong, clear mind and a sense of purpose, they are masters over themselves and contributors to the community. They are examples of original genius in the art of life. Like Goethe, who wished to represent Christianity with a new spectrum of figures "richer in expression and contrast than the twelve apostles" (1:242), Jameson chooses her own troop of figures, rich in "expression and contrast," to represent the emigrant population she meets in Canada.

While she openly admires those who demonstrate intelligence, Jameson admonishes those who do not, whether from insolence or from lack of education. Again she sets her criteria early, in one of her philosophical fragments:

> I am inclined to distrust the judgment of those persons whom I see occupied by one subject, one idea, one object, and referring all things to that, till it assumes by degrees an undue magnitude and importance, and prevents them from feeling the true relative proportion and value of other objects . . . (1:278)

And generally on arriving at "the truth," she continues:

> I doubt whether there be separate and single truths--whether it be possible for one to arrive at the truth by any narrow path;--or is truth,

> like heaven, 'a palace with many doors,' to which we arrive by many paths, each thinking his own the right one; and is it not till we have arrived within the sanctuary that we perceive we are in a central point to which converge a thousand various paths from every point of the compass--every region of thought? (1:278)

If we consider that a large part of of Jameson's winter studies involved Goethe's plays and also Eckermann's book on Goethe's conversations, we may speculate that this material reinforced and influenced her own ideas about truth. Eckermann's book contains no less than forty seven specific references to "truth:" a sampling of these references reveals that Goethe highly estimated the value of truth, not only for the literary artist in establishing credibility for his works, but also for people generally in living their life to its full potential.

To arrive at her own humanitarian goals for a holistic approach to education, Jameson borrows from the German Romantic ideal of unity among all fields of knowledge. To her, the purpose of education is to "cherish and unfold the seed of immortality already sown within us; to develope [sic] to their fullest extent, the capacities of every kind with which the God who made us has endowed us" (2:156). An eclectic world view is central to Jameson's idea of making the most of human intellect. Even a "benevolent and a just man" will become "one-sided" if he devotes his life to only one particular object, as did one Jesuit missionary when he suggested hiring French peasantry to work for his Indian charges (2:270-271). But neither does she advocate a wholly objective approach. Jameson's description of an emigrant family on the steam-boat bound for Chatham reflects her belief that, because they displayed no feelings "beyond eating, drinking, dressing, and praying," she could "make nothing of them" (2:276-277).

The chaos of eclecticism invites comparison, and Jameson unabashedly compares what she sees in Upper Canada with her understanding of German, American and her own Irish-English culture. Among the most striking are her comments involving the German people. Compared to the "repining and discontented" immigrant women of English origin, Jameson sees German women as "both national and patriotic" (2:133, 134), thereby echoing her own beliefs, stated earlier, regarding the relative status of freedom in the two "old" countries:

> I have often thought and felt, that while in England we have political liberty, we have nothing like the personal and individual freedom, the social liberty of the Germans, even under their worst governments.
>
> This . . . must, I think, strike every one who has been in Germany, and felt the interest which this kind of individuality imparts to society. (1:234-235, 236)

In voicing her conception of the German "national character," she adds that their language "lends itself with wonderful richness and flexibility to translation," and "their catholic taste embraces all literature, without insisting on any adaptation to their own canons of criticism or bienseance" (1:239). Thus, Jameson's rather biased attitude, affirmed while she was in the midst of studying her German books, emerges again as she travels through the backwoods.

Travelling through the Niagara and Gore districts, she is careful not to "forget to mention" the Dutch and German settlers, who, in her eyes, are "favourably distinguished by their industrious, sober, and thriving habits" (2:101). We can feel the beginnings of multiculturalism in Jameson's observation that these "national and patriotic" groups are different from the "British settlers." This difference can be seen in their "person and dress . . . their houses and churches, and, above all, their burial places" (2:101). They even publish a German newspaper at Berlin, thus recreating their homeland in their personal, religious, and social life. Before we condemn these as biased judgments, however, we must note that Elizabeth Posthuma (Mrs. John Graves) Simcoe (1766-1850) makes similar comments in her Diary,[1] written nearly half a century earlier. On her way to Navy Hall at Niagara, Mrs. Simcoe notes, "there are many Dutch and German farmers about here, whose houses and grounds have a neater and better appearance than those of any other people" (Robertson 105).

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[1] The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe (1911) was compiled from a manuscript of writings, mailed to England weekly by the wife of Upper Canada's first Governor between 1791 and 1796. The editor, J. Ross Robertson, provides notes and a bibliography.

Among the less publicized works about this period of Upper Canadian history, of which there are many, The Journals of Mary O'Brien 1828-1838 reflect a similar view of the German settlers. Her "old German neighbours" had the "cleanest house in the district" (127); she attests to their "zeal and industry" (151). Thus, while Jameson's observations are more fully stated, they reflect a not uncommon view.

The travel writers of the colonial period generally mirrored their experience in the new world within the frame of the "old," but as Elizabeth Barnett notes in comparing Suzanna Moodie's Life in the Clearings with Jameson's narrative, "Mrs. Moodie's unquestioning assumption of British superiority . . . contrasts oddly with Mrs. Jameson's less restricted view" (143). Barnett correctly attributes Jameson's "less restricted view" to her "wider sympathy and experience, and [her] more detached independent attitude" (120). But perhaps something else should be added: the "flimsy thread of sentiment" mentioned in the Preface adds the dimension of emotionality to Jameson's comparisons that allows her to reconcile the perceived contrasts.

Jameson uses not only actual German models to gauge Upper Canadian society, but she also looks candidly toward the more prosperous American settlements and wonders at the slowness of Canadian progress. At Detroit she finds the greatest contrast:

> Our shore is said to be the most fertile, and has been the longest settled; but to float between them [and] to behold on one side a city, with its towers and spires and animated population, with villas and handsome houses . . . and a hundred vessels or more . . . all the bustle, in short, of prosperity and commerce;--and, on the other side, a little straggling hamlet, one schooner, one little wretched steam-boat, some windmills, a catholic chapel or two, a supine ignorant peasantry, and all the symptoms of apathy, indolence, mistrust, hopelessness!--can I, can any one, help wondering at the difference, and asking whence it arises? (2:313-314)

Jameson's evaluation, though based on observation, betrays highly suggestive diction, thus painting an image for her readers that leaves little to the imagination. When she goes on to question the reasons for the disparity between the American and Canadian sides, a definite perspective involving her audience emerges:

> There must be a cause for it surely--but what is it? Does it lie in the past or in present--in natural or accidental circumstances?--in the institutions of the government, or the character of the people? Is it remediable? is it a necessity? is it a mystery? what and whence is it?--Can you tell? or can you send some of our colonial officials across the Atlantic to behold and solve the difficulty? (2:314-315)

By shifting the burden of answering these questions onto her reader, Jameson can return to her personalized, subjective narrative. At Richmond, while sitting "on the grassy bank above the river, resting in the shade of a tree" (2:315), she encounters an old French Canadian farmer carting fruit to market. Jameson now places herself in the centre of an image full of emotional appeal: an "old fashioned Norman peasant--all bows, courtesy, and good-humour;" a "cart-load" of ripe cherries; and Jameson, perched between them, dipping her hand "pretty frequently into these tempting baskets" (2:315, 316). Her diction is softened, French words and poetry appear in the text, and she can leave behind the bothersome questions. The subjects of food and friendly conversation, symbols of inner satisfaction, replace the earlier attempt at an objective stance.

After a few pages of general description, Jameson effects closure on this episode with an anecdote about her stay in Upper-Austria two years earlier,[2] and a philosophical statement about contrasts in general:

> But it is well to have known and seen both. Nothing so soon passes away from the mind as the recollection of physical inconvenience and pain--nothing is so permanent as the picture once impressed on the fancy: and this picture will be to me a pleasure and an inalienable

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[2] In the summer of 1835, she had been sent to recuperate on the Traun See in Upper Austria from the stress of having helped Ottilie von Goethe through the birth of her illegitimate child. While in Canada, Jameson often suffered from bouts of ague and depression: she was not well during her six days at Detroit.

> property . . . when this irksome languor of the sinking spirit will be quite forgotten and effaced. (2:335-336)

The structure of this passage, one of many that follow a similar pattern, affords important insights into the workings of Jameson's mind.

The contrast between her evaluation of the two shores at Detroit and Richmond, in moving from the objective to the subjective, illustrates Jameson's effort to reconcile her conflicting roles as traveller and writer without sacrificing her personal outlook on life. On the one hand, she was "the Chancellor's lady" travelling through Upper Canada, making social visits and appearances as an ambassadress of British authority. On the other hand, she was a working travel writer with a well-established reputation and concrete plans to publish this narrative: "[m]y business here is to observe" (2:334). To fulfill the practical requirements of these roles did not require a creative ingredient. Jameson, however, was accustomed to rounding out her experiences with subjective comment; to her, the "thread of sentiment sustain[s] the facts and observations" (1:vii-viii). Thus, the conflict between Jameson's objective tasks and her yearning to enjoy life for the sheer joy of it is a recurring structural motif in this book. Given her background, we may speculate that the tendency to personalize and philosophize when faced with unexplainable incongruities in observations is something she learned from German Romanticism.

Similar conflicts and similar patterns in arriving at a solution occur in Ludwig Tieck's novel, Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen (1798). In order to further his ideas on landscape painting, Tieck creates an artist hero who, while travelling throughout Europe, evaluates traditional artistic methods and moves toward the idea that an artist's "product is no longer the result of the Muse-inspired creation of an educated multi-talent or the fulfilment of a commission, but the autonomous creation of an individual" (Matzner 28). Sternbald's roles as art student and ambassador of the historically realistic Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) would seem to require an objective approach. But in Tieck's novel, the creation of an "individual and personal world picture replaces conventional themes and forms" (Matzner 29).

Sternbald faces a world that, for the most part, does not understand art, a world unwilling to admit the higher levels of thought and feeling required to appreciate and create art. This problem is expressed most vividly in a letter he writes home to his friend, Sebastian (see Appendix III, Excerpt A). In this passage, Sternbald presents a romantic view of the possibilities for the human spirit: nature and its relationship to the divine figures highly in this view. Through his character, Tieck invites the reader not just to observe but also to contemplate life, to move beyond the objective world and let individual thought and feelings bring peace to a confused world. Sternbald attempts, through art, to close the gap between rationalism and sentiment, and although the experiment remains largely unfulfilled, much has been learned.

The narrative structure that Tieck employs in his novel to address these problems approximates Jameson's method, discussed above in respect to Detroit and Richmond. The pattern of seeking, discovering, and struggling with various concepts in the visual arts may be illustrated in a passage that occurs at a time of great personal turmoil for Sternbald (see Appendix III, Excerpt B). To escape the depression caused by the mystery of his own ancestry complicated by his father's death, Sternbald wanders into the fields. Nevertheless, his "business" is to paint, and he is soon drawn into a paradox between nature and nature's reflection in the pond. As Matzner points out, Sternbald's artistic examination clearly shows three phases: first the exact study of the landscape motif, then the amateurish effort at realistic reproduction, and finally the move toward a freer use of forms (95). In the process, the individual is foregrounded and his feelings become a major factor in the resolution of the problem.

If we consider Tieck's method for dealing with incongruities in the physical world as representative of German Romanticism, then Jameson's narrative method as illustrated in the Detroit episode clearly displays similar forms of thought and feeling. At Sault Ste. Marie, the pattern is repeated. Jameson responds once again by first examining the observable elements. "Here, as everywhere else," she writes, "I am struck by the difference between the two shores" (3:173). The American side has a white settlement, an Indian mission, a garrisoned fort, and numerous "profitable speculation[s]." The Canadian side, on the other hand, has a Northwest Fur Company factory, "a few miserable log-huts," and the residence and Chippewa village of the MacMurrays (3:175). Because she is British and cosmopolitan above all else, the commercial incongruities continue to bother her; therefore, even though she is a romantic at heart, and, so, might be expected to welcome the appearance of aesthetic incongruities, she does not dwell on them. She soon re-enters the picture and creates once again her own formula for moving beyond the economic and political questions. Once again, food in the form of the "celebrated white-fish," (3:177-178) and friendly conversation with the Johnston family become Jameson's symbols of inner satisfaction. Further on, she compares "[her] beautiful river and glorious rapids" to a "passionate beauty," a symbol of deception: one must "get . . . round her" rather than "oppose her" (3:180). Finally, of course, Jameson immerses herself in the channel of division between the two opposite shores by "performing" the descent of the rapids in an Indian canoe (3:198-199), thereby substituting her own triumph for any shortcomings that the Canadian side betrays, and overshadowing the mere commercial success of the Americans. Thus, Jameson, like Tieck's character, Sternbald, reconciles the conflicts of roles that require objectivity by finding new ways of expression through subjective means.

From these examples, we can begin to understand how Jameson's mind and soul function in relation to her surroundings, and how her manner of expression necessarily follows along. If Goethe's philosophy in Eckermann's book corroborated her strong penchant for truth, and Bettina taught her that trees have feelings; if Jameson's Winter Studies confirmed the yearning, the irony, the duality, and the paradox of German Romanticism, then her perception of Upper Canada bears out these influences.

Another difficult contrast that Jameson learned to deal with in Canada was the difference between white people and Indians. Her initial descriptions of "some of the aborigines of the country" (1:24) are impersonal and judgmental: "Their deportment was taciturn, and self-possessed, and their countenances melancholy; that of the chief was by far the most intelligent" (1:25). An even more superior and seemingly uninformed tone marks Jameson's letter to Ottilie von Goethe dated 18 January 1837. In it, she describes the Indians' faces as "vulgar from the high cheek bones, small foreheads and want of mind," and reports the chief "the best looking" (Needler 72) rather than the most intelligent. Perhaps she wishes to shock with her reports of cannibalism, but even her humour is tainted:

> If you would like an Indian chief for a husband, Ottilie, you have only to come here. Bring with you a few hatchets, a couple of brass Kettles and some strings of Beads. Add a Cask of Brandy, and with such a dowry, you may choose, I can promise you, an Indian Hunter, six feet high and very prettily tattoed [sic] . . . And if your Indian is dissatisfied, he will not kick you above six times a day and then sell you to his comrade for a gun or a Brass Kettle . . . . (Needler 73)

Such inconsistency between her letters and the text of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles is rare, and Jameson corrects herself in both. To her family, she writes simply, "I wish to see, with my own eyes, the condition of women in savage life" (Erskine 153). In Summer Rambles, she explicitly voices a determination to become "better acquainted" with the Indians, in order to form her own "correct estimate of the people, and more particularly of the true position of their women" (1:27). With this announcement, Jameson places herself outside, or at least at the margins of, both the common, supercilious position towards the Indians, and the romantic "noble savage" tradition.

Jameson's estimation of the Indians changes in direct proportion to her contact with them, from her first acquaintance with Mrs. MacMurray, through her forays into the stories of Pontiac and Tecumseh, to her picturesque descriptions on Mackinaw Island, and, finally, with her complete acceptance of them as their adopted daughter at Sault Ste. Marie. The journey is one of surprise and confused searching, leading to knowledge and inclusion. Faced with the paradox of humanism and heroism in what she had perceived as a subordinate race, Jameson systematically overturns her own ideas through reflection. She bases the hopelessness of "the Indians becoming what we call a civilized people" (2:240) on their own principle: "the Great Spirit did indeed create both the red man and the white man, but created them essentially different in nature and manners" (2:241). The main thrust of her criticism regarding the treatment of the Indians by the whites, be they traders, settlers, missionaries, or government, is that these essential differences are not sufficiently recognized. Whether out of self-interest or misguided charity, any possibility for mutually beneficial cohabitation has been spoiled. "What is to be done?" she asks:

> Nothing so easy as to point out evils and injuries, resulting from foregone events, or deep seated in natural and necessary causes, and lament over them with resistless eloquence in verse and prose, or hold them up to the sympathy and indignation of the universe; but let the real friends of religion, humanity, and the poor Indians, set down a probable and feasible remedy for their wrongs and miseries; and follow it up, as the advocates for the abolition of the slave-trade followed up their just and glorious purpose. (2:269-270)

Jameson calls for a "definite object and plan" (2:270) to remedy these seemingly unresolvable issues. In the meantime, she has little choice but to continue pointing out "evils and injuries." And yet, she does more. As she moves into the "contact zone,"[3] as Jameson becomes aware of the customs and habits of the Indians, she presents the natives, as Gisela Sigrist points out, "as individuals rather than in a stereotyped manner" (115).

This individuation of the Indians may be uncommon "at a time of general contempt for the 'doomed race'" (Sigrist 115), but to Jameson with her cosmopolitan background, the value of individual freedom and the concept of individual genius was not foreign. Rather, this philosophical stance is one that Jameson nurtured, in part, through a literature-based outlook. While many travel writers included some Indian stories in their narratives (John Howison's inclusions represent early examples),

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[3] In her comprehensive study, Mary Louise Pratt coins the term "contact zone" as the ever-receding point of encounter between native populations and white settlers. During the late 1700's, scientific exploration and commercial exploitation had moved steadily inland both in South and North America. By the time Jameson toured Upper Canada, the "contact zone" was located north and west of Lake Erie.

Jameson is one of the few who devotes any appreciable narrative space to a careful retelling of anecdotes, Indian stories and songs. Her initial anecdotes, such as the story of Wangoman the medicine-man, are taken from books such as the History of the Missions of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America (1794)[4] (2:246-48). Eventually, Jameson moves from white history to Indian myth:

> Like the Arabians, they have among them story-tellers by profession, persons who go about from lodge to lodge amusing the inmates with traditional tales, histories of the wars and exploits of their ancestors, or inventions of their own which are sometimes in the form of allegories or parables, and are either intended to teach some moral lesson, or are extravagant inventions having no other aim or purpose but to excite wonder or amazement. (3:86-87)

With the help of Mrs. Schoolcraft (the mixed-blood wife of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Indian agent on Mackinaw Island), Jameson recounts three such tales: "The Forsaken Brother," "Mishosha; or, The Magician and his Daughter," and "The Robin." The first is designed to "inculcate domestic union and brotherly love" (3:88), the second teaches the lesson that "courage, and perseverance, and cunning" shall triumph over magical art (3:88), and the third is intended to curb "parental ambition, and inculcate filial obedience" (3:113). Together, these stories have the effect, not unlike European fairy tales such as collected by the Brothers Grimm, of presenting moral lessons within the framework of family relations. All have overtones of the supernatural, including transmutations between human and animal forms. The "diableries" of Mishosha the magician, remind us of the more violent evils of E.T.A. Hoffman's alchemist in "The Sandman," one of his best-known stories in the series entitled Nachtstücke (Night Pieces) Jameson, seeking to add classical value, comments that the "metamorphosis of the old man into a maple tree is related with a spirit and accuracy worthy of Ovid himself" (3:113).

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[4] This is a translation by Christian Ignatius LaTrobe from the German Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brüder Unter den Indianern in Nordamerika by Georg Heinrich Loskiel (1740-1814), first published in Leipzig, 1789.

One such professional storyteller, Waub-Ojeeg, passed his talent on to his daughter, The Woman of the Glade, who became Mrs. John Johnston of Sault Ste. Marie. By way of the MacMurray-Schoolcraft-Johnston family network, Jameson met Mrs. Johnston and was able to include her recitation of "The Allegory of Winter and Summer" in her narrative. From another family member, she gained access to several native songs which she presents with her usual "openmindedness about people with a different culture" (Sigrist 115). One must admire Jameson's boldness, in 1837, to compare a "Chippewa canzonetta" to "our most fashionable and admired Italian songs" (3:224).

At Sault Ste. Marie, Jameson's Indian experience climaxed in mutual and irreversible acceptance. While adoption of white travellers by the Indians was not uncommon (Jameson herself reminds us how Alexander Henry the Elder gained his Indian brother, Wa,wa,tam), Jameson's was both a novelty and a triumph. She was one of the first white women to penetrate the wilderness as far as Sault Ste. Marie and to run the rapids, thereby earning the name "Wah,sàh,ge,wah,nó,quà . . . the woman of the bright foam" (3:200). In this new role, Jameson almost lost herself in the world of the Indians, their stories and their songs. Immediately following the "Ojibway Quaince," which she presents in untranslated verse and complete with music, she writes: "I have been too long on the other side of the river; I must return to our Canadian shore" (3:227).

The allure of native culture, with its "ideas of individual freedom" (3:72) was particularly strong for Jameson. While among the Indians, she had heeded the words of Tieck:

> . . . let Nature blow her friendly breeze over you from time to time; when your breast is pressed with worry, look towards the people who are the least noticed in the whirlpool of life, and welcome the sweet godliness that descends upon you . . . . (Appendix III A)

Jameson's ability to immerse herself into Indian culture parallels, to some extent, her involvement in German culture. As Tieck's novel advocates, that fascinating play of mind and soul that elevates the individual out of the narrowness of his or her immediate environment is accomplished partly through travelling among different cultures.

This symbolic immersion into and return from another world is parallelled in Jameson's relation to the Canadian landscape. Just as her estimation of the Indians changed in direct proportion to her contact with them, so did her understanding of nature as she penetrated the backwoods of Upper Canada from the settled to the uninhabited regions. Her journey away from Toronto required different responses as she travelled by stage coach or ferry, baker's cart or steamer, wagon or canoe. Whether she travelled on smooth roads as in Talbot Country or along a "blazed path, where the trees marked on either side are the only direction to the traveller" (2:228); whether she traversed the "blue tranquil waters of Lake St. Clair" (2:275) or the rain-drenched Lake Huron (3:334), Jameson's narrative flows and fluctuates to match her surroundings.

As we follow her route, we find that Jameson's greatest concern was not that man should keep the wilderness pristine, but that he should strive for harmony with nature. She was not an environmentalist in the modern sense, for she often had visions of commercial potential, as in the futuristic view from Bear Hill, a height of land bounded on all sides by forest:

> I gazed and meditated till, by a process like that of the Arabian sorcerer of old, the present fell like a film from my eyes: the future was before me, with its towns and cities, fields of waving grain, green lawns and villas, and churches and temples turret-crowned; and meadows tracked by the frequent footpath; and railroads, with trains of rich merchandise steaming along . . . . (2:172)

This is a romanticized scene, but one that arose out of Jameson's memory of the English and German countryside, and out of her philosophical beliefs. After contemplating the relative advantage of wilderness and civilization, she states her position:

> For myself and you too, my friend, we are of those who believe and hope; who behold in progressive civilization progressive happiness,

> progressive approximation to nature and to nature's God; for are we not in his hand"--and all that He does is good. (2:173)

The goal that man should live in harmony and mutual benefit with nature echoes the unattainable goal for which the German Romanticists yearned. Not able to find it (there were few tracts of boundless forests left in Europe), they resigned themselves to understanding it in terms of art and literature. In the Canada of 1837, Jameson crossed the intersection between advancing civilization and receding wilderness. Faced with the impossibility of harmony between man and nature, she responded with personal sensitivity, and took solace in "Naturphilosophie," the German Romantic cult as evidenced foremost in Bettina von Arnim's Tagebuch and Tieck's Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen.

Jameson's first experience with the Canadian landscape occurred in the short trip to Niagara Falls in winter, discussed earlier in connection with her mood at that time. Even in winter, Jameson feels a difference between cultivated garden and wilderness, and expresses her thoughts in highly artistic terms:

> The flower garden, the trim shrubbery, the lawn, the meadow with its hedgerows, when frozen up and wrapt in snow, always give me the idea of something not only desolate but dead . . . but here, in the wilderness, where Nature is wholly independent of art, she does not die, nor yet mourn; she lies down to rest on the bosom of Winter, and the aged one folds her in his robe of ermine and jewels and rocks her with his hurricanes, and hushes her to sleep. (1:84)

The personification is not only poetic, but also it suggests a belief that in its unadulterated state, nature possesses more life before man "improves" upon it than after he does so.

The forest roads, along which Jameson travelled through the Niagara Peninsula in summer, afforded her a similar opportunity for comparison and reflection.

> O world! You beautiful world!
> One hardly sees you for the flowers! (2:115)

To the untranslated verse of Joseph Eichendorff (1788-1857), Jameson subjoins her own exclamations,

> for thus in some places did a rich embroidered pall of flowers literally hide the earth. There those beautiful plants, which we cultivate with such care in our gardens, azalias [sic], rhododendrons, all the gorgeous family of the lobelia, were flourishing in wild luxuriance. (2:115-116)

No gardener is needed here: "how lavish, how carelessly profuse, is Nature in her handiwork!" (2:116), she adds. The cypripedium provides a link between cultures. "The English call it lady's-slipper; the Indians know it as the moccasin flower" (2:116). Jameson adds a touch of poetic fantasy:

> In the interior of the cyprepedium [sic], which I tore open, there was a variety of configuration, and colour, and gem-like richness of ornament, enough to fashion twenty different flowers; and for the little fly, in jewelled cuirass, which I found couched within its recesses, what a palace! that of Aladdin could not have been more splendid! (2:116-117)

With these descriptions, Jameson displays her sensitivity to natural beauty and her ability to express herself in figurative languate, more than some other travellers and visitors, and certainly more than the settler.

One of the most dismal description of nature in Canada was written by one John M'Donald, one member of a large group of emigrants who journeyed from Scotland to New Lanark, Upper Canada, in 1821:

> It is dull travelling through the woods; nature seems as if dead; there are no signs of animated life. . . What then must it be to dwell in these lifeless forests, where the early matins of the feathered choirs are never heard hymning their Creator's praise. (19)

This gloomy summary is augmented by a survey of flora and fauna that revolves around the edible or otherwise utilitarian. M'Donald returned to Scotland within the year, but even the descriptions of emigrants who stayed their whole life, like the well-read Mary O'Brien, or long-term visitors like Mrs. John Graves Simcoe, Frances

Simpson, and Isobel Finlayson, who also travelled extensively through Upper Canada and whose journals are of significant value, all lack Jameson's artistic flair. Most scenes are presented in the picturesque tradition, and are frequently interrupted by the notation of mundane events. With the exception of John Howison, identified as a more sentimental writer, very little philosophical speculation accompanies these early descriptions of the Canadian landscape.

The general utilitarian approach is especially noticeable when the subject is trees. "A Canadian settler hates a tree," writes Jameson early in her narrative. He "regards it as his natural enemy, as something to be destroyed, eradicated, annihilated by all and any means" (1:96). Jameson, like other writers, describes the methods for clearing the land which included chopping down the underbrush and small trees, and either burning or "ringing" the large timber. But while M'Donald provides figures for how long it took to clear an acre and lengths into which trunks were cut for burning, and Mrs. Simcoe finds it "pleasant to observe [the] progress of industry" that depends upon the killing of trees (119), Jameson, versed in myth and story, only pities the "Dryads and Hamadryads" who will find no "sheltered oracles and votive temples" in Upper Canada (1:96).

Nowhere does Jameson advocate that trees should not be cut down, for she admires the clearings and cultivated farms, but out of her conflicting sensibilities emerges a pity for the trees which she expresses in philosophical terms:

> How do we know that trees do not feel their downfal [sic]? We know nothing about it. The line which divides animal from vegetable sensibility is as undefined as the line which divides animal from human intelligence. And if it be true "that nothing dies on earth but nature mourns,"[5] how must she mourn for these the mighty children of her bosom--her pride, her glory, her garment? (2:102)

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[5] Jameson attributes this statement to John Evelyn (1620-1706), a gardener and connoisseur, who wrote the influential work Sylva (1664) on practical arboriculture (OCEL 330). Lord Byron wrote a similar line in Don Juan (1819), Canto III, stanza 108: "Ah surely nothing dies but something mourns" (Bartlett's).

With such an inquisitive approach, Jameson extends her subject into the realm of emotion: "I never witness nor hear that first stroke [of the axe] without a shudder" (2:103) is her response. However, hope returns in the image of a "young green shoot, tall and flourishing, and fresh and leafy" which sprang up from the centre of a blackened stump "as from some hidden source of vitality" (2:103).

In this brief but significant passage, Jameson echoes the sentiments of Bettina von Arnim, whose prevalent expression of feelings in terms of "Naturphilosophie" may have affected Jameson specifically in connection with trees. Not only does she use Bettina's words as an epigraph to Winter Studies, but in describing her feelings near the beginning of her narrative, Jameson maintains the arborean imagery: "I am like an uprooted tree, dying at the core, yet with a strange unreasonable power at times of mocking at my own most miserable weakness" (1:3). Once Jameson is more familiar with the fate of trees in Canada, Bettina's lines become even more potent. Bettina questions whether trees in winter feel as forlorn as a lonely heart; here, in the forest near "Brandtford" (modern Brantford), Jameson's question regarding the trees and their feelings takes only a slightly different turn: "Can Heaven do for the blasted tree what it cannot do for the human heart?" (2:104). Jameson's more positive approach sets her apart from Bettina while at the same time making way for the continuation of serious reflection and analysis of the natural phenomena that the English traveller would yet encounter on her trip through Upper Canada.

As Sigrist points out, "during the course of the journey [Jameson] uses less and less the language of the artist dealing in picturesque landscape, but rather seems to submerge into the landscape, feeling part of it" (114). The conflict between civilization and nature eventually turned to the issue of the Indians, as discussed above. But if the Indians became to Jameson a metaphor for the natural way of living, then their wilderness environment became the backdrop for that model. After leaving Detroit, she was almost completely removed from civilization; Mackinaw Island, surrounded on all sides by hundreds of miles of unsettled country, was her first experience of this environment. She almost despairs of language, "unless words were of light, and lustrous hues, and breathing music" (3:24). She cannot tell how long she "may have stood, lost--absolutely lost" in an "ecstatic trance" of merely looking at the scene (3:25). On the voyage to Sault Ste. Marie, the utter solitude leaves Jameson in a similar transport:

> I cannot, I dare not, attempt to describe to you the strange sensations one has, thus thrown for a time beyond the bounds of civilised humanity, or indeed any humanity; nor the wild yet solemn reveries which come over one in the midst of this wilderness of woods and water. All was so solitary, so grand in its solitude, as if nature unviolated sufficed to herself. (3:163)

Even during her return to civilization, the power of the wilderness accompanied her. Watching a sunset from a "flat ledge of rock," the islands metamorphosing into fantastic animal shapes, Jameson could hardly speak: "'my spirits as in a dream were all bound up,'--overcome by such an intense feeling of the beautiful--such a deep adoration for the power that had created it,--I must have suffocated if--" (325). The unfinished sentence attests to the impossibility of expressing the perfection of the moment and the quotation.

The wilderness, thus understood as the chaos it presents to the traveller, left Jameson in awe, sometimes speechless, and, like the poet, transported into a world of fantasy and illusion. Her return to Toronto, "having been absent on this wild expedition just two months" (3:356), was a complete triumph. On 17 August 1837 she writes to her parents: "The people here are in great enthusiasm about me and stare at me if I had done some most wonderful thing; the most astonished of all is Mr. Jameson" (Erskine 158). Her rambles through Upper Canada had added adventure and knowledge to Jameson's already vast store of comprehension, and perhaps a little more. The experience strengthened her belief that man should, and can, live in harmony with nature. In human behaviour she experienced the natural and unaffected ways of some of the settlers, and most of the Indians. In the wilderness she experienced natural and uncultivated beauty and power. But being there had not been enough. She needed the possibility of thinking that trees have feelings, that pleasure sits in flower cups, and that it was acceptable to appreciate all that was placed before her. To appreciate her experience and record it in the manner she did, Jameson needed that educated, eclectic world view, encompassing both objective and subjective approaches, a world view somewhat chaotic, with the real possibility of losing oneself in all the chaos. She had absorbed much of this background from the German Romantic ideas that she gathered through her acquaintances in Germany and that are reflected in the works she reviewed in Winter Studies. Any omission of the German material from her book, then, markedly changes our understanding of how Jameson's perception came to be.

CHAPTER V

TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF WINTER STUDIES AND SUMMER RAMBLES IN CANADA

Jameson left Toronto in September 1837, then spent several months in New York before returning to England in March, 1838. The product of Jameson's nine-months' stay in Upper Canada was a copious volume of journals, notes, and sketches. She had read before travelling, took notes and kept journals while travelling, then edited and supplemented this material as soon as she could. The first edition of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada was published in three volumes by Saunders and Otley of London by December 1838,[1] approximately one year after Jameson's return to England. (For purposes of referencing in this chapter only, the first edition is hereafter called SO1838, indicating publisher and year. I will refer to subsequent editions in the same manner.) The following year, a two-volume verbatim reprint was published in the United States by Wiley & Putnam of New York. A German translation of the book, by one "A.W." (no full name given), entitled Winterstudien und Sommerstreifereien in Canada, was published, also in 1839, by F. Vieweg & Sohn of Braunschweig.

These first three were the only editions published before 1970 that presented Jameson's book in its entirety. Beginning in 1852, and continuing until 1970, a number of abridged versions appeared, in which a variety of changes and omissions were made by different editors. The most far-reaching alterations concern the German material, which was extracted, sometimes indiscriminately, from the pages of Jameson's book. The result is that for many years, readers had before them an incomplete version of a work which, as has been shown in this study, depends for a great deal of its philosophical position and aesthetic structure, on the literary conventions that Jameson's German studies reveal. Although scholars have generally used the first edition of 1838 or the 1970 Coles facsimile reprint (Buss, more recently, uses the 1990 McClelland and Stewart edition), it is disturbing to note that Inga Ingold and D.M.R. Bentley refer to abridged versions. A survey of the textual transmission of Jameson's book is therefore warranted and will complete the picture of the German component in Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada.

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[1] Jameson's book was announced under the heading "Travels, & c." in the January 1839 edition of The Gentleman's Magazine.

In 1852, the firm of Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans of London republished Jameson's work as part of its "Traveller's Library" series. The book is condensed into one volume, extensively revised (possibly by Jameson herself[2]), and has a new title: Sketches in Canada and Rambles Among the Red Men. The one-page Preface is written by the editor, and there is no table of contents. The text is broken into two main sections, "Sketches in Canada &c." on page 1, and "The Red Men" on page 179, replacing the heading "Mackinaw" in the original. Other sub-sections are renamed slightly. Generally, bits and pieces of the German sections remain in this edition along with most of the Indian sections. Omitted are many of Jameson's comments on Canadian government, as well as her sections on women's rights. The edition of 1852 reads like a travel guide and adheres to the format of the "Traveller's Library" which was produced "for our railroad literature" (Thomas 188). Only the occasional meditative diversion is allowed to stand.

The book next appeared in 1923. This, its first Canadian edition, was published in one volume of 443 pages by McClelland and Stewart of Toronto. The original title was retained. While the text is openly abridged, the addition of reproductions of period drawings lends some advantage, especially since some are Jameson's own sketches which were originally intended to illustrate the first edition. In his introduction, the editor Paul A.W. Wallace identifies the omitted pages (sixty-six pages in Winter Studies alone) as "personal material," but he is quick to point out that his edition is more complete than the revised version of 1852 (see footnote 2 above), "from which [Jameson] omitted many intimate items concerning places and people, which are of particular interest now that Ontario is old enough to be curious about its crude beginnings" (MS1923 9).

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[2] Efforts to trace correspondence between Jameson and Longmans have failed to turn up corroborating evidence for Paul Wallace's comment that Jameson herself made the revisions to the 1852 edition (MS1923 9).

T. Nelson and Sons of Toronto next published the book in 1943 under the series title, Nelson's Collegiate Classics. The three editors were associated with the University of Western Ontario. Fred Landon in the Foreword, and James A. Talman and Elsie M. Murray in their Introduction, all admit to omissions in the text, justifying their editorial decisions, in part, by referring to the original Preface (not reprinted therein) in which Jameson "stated that she did not have time to revise the work, with the result that far too much 'irrelevant matter' remained" (N1943 xii). However, as Wallace before them, these editors acknowledge the previous texts and make similar comments regarding the revisions of 1852. In their effort to provide a volume combining "excellent readability and historical value" (N1943 viii), these editors broke the "fluid and fluctuating" narrative into chapters and Jameson's long paragraphs into shorter, more "manageable" bits to fit their small pages. In addition, the grammar is changed wherever expedient. All this was done behind the scenes, screened by the claim that there were "practically no changes in the text, other than a slight modernization in punctuation" (N1943 xii). In explaining their own footnotes, the editors neglect to mention that they eliminated most of Jameson's original notes along the way.

Even with these attempts at creating a more comprehensive text, the 1943 edition can hardly be considered the beginning of scholarly concern for Jameson's book. Nelson reprinted the same book in the following year, but then came a lag of almost twenty years before McClelland and Stewart brought out their "Selections" in 1965 (reprinted again in 1985). This small paperback volume purports to follow the text of the New York edition of 1839. It is neatly divided into two sections, each with a bordered title page; the Summer Rambles portion even includes a map of Jameson's voyage. Clara Thomas writes an introduction to this edition with minimal scholarly information: she mentions Jameson's writing method, acknowledges that Jameson's "words" have been used as "authoritative illustrations" (MS1965 xiii) by historians, and offers information on the book's early reception. Thomas states that this shortened edition omits "of necessity... much and once again, almost all of the German studies" (MS1965 xiii). Interestingly, and for the first time, specific reference is made to "[Jameson's] passages considering the position of women in pioneer and savage life" (MS1965 xiii). These passages are included in 1965, because, as Thomas claims,

> [t]he "woman question" was one of the preoccupations of all [Jameson's] writing and, reasonable, even conservative, as her remarks seem to us, this facet of [this book] drew more critical comment than did any other aspect of the work. (MS1966 xiii)

Tentative as they are, comments like these were certain to stimulate interest in Jameson's Canadian work, and are perhaps responsible, to some extent, for subsequent republishing.

In 1970 and 1972, Coles Publishing Company of Toronto created a facsimile copy under the Coles Canadiana Collection series. This popular paperback edition, now out of print but still widely available in second-hand book stores and many libraries, follows the original three-volume format. From my comparison with a copy of the first edition, the Coles facsimile appears to be a true copy of the first edition. For the first time since 1838, we have the original Preface, the original headings, punctuation, and all the previously omitted material.

But editors cannot, it seems, abstain from interfering with a text for too long. The 1990 McClelland and Stewart New Canadian Library edition, in a practical, one-volume paperback format, claims to be "an unabridged reprint of the first edition..." (MS1990 4). The book is, indeed, a true copy of the original, except for obvious changes in format, supposedly required to produce a modern looking text. An extra sub-title page has been inserted for each of the Winter Studies and Summer Rambles portions, and there is no indication of the original division into three volumes. These minor alterations are not as disappointing as the lack of potential scholarly apparatus. Although this edition includes, a brief biographical sketch of the author at the beginning and a list of Jameson's works at the end, there is neither a chronology of the author nor a scholarly introduction, as is so common in many modern editions.

Clara Thomas's Afterword is essentially a re-writing of her Introduction to the "Selections" of 1965. She adds only brief comments regarding the German material, presumably because it is now included. Although portions of Jameson's narrative about natives that had been elided from MS1965 are also restored in MS1990, this is not mentioned. She only indicates that Jameson's observations on the "native peoples" have been validated by "Native People's [sic] historians" (MS1990 547-548). What does this mean? And Thomas once again points to Jameson's cautious feminist activism by beginning and ending the Afterword with Jameson's "injunction to herself--and her readers--'Be bold, Be bold... Be not too Bold'" from Spenser's Faerie Queene (MS1990 549).

A number of questions regarding editorial concerns arise even from this brief publishing history of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada. For instance, what were Jameson's concerns for the editions published in her lifetime? Without actually comparing Jameson's manuscript with the first edition, it is impossible to know how "crude and desultory" (1:v) the first edition really is, nor what in fact was omitted "in preparing these notes for the press" (1:vi). A careful reading of the Preface shows, however, that she may have been less concerned with the sensibilities of a broad audience than indicated. She "wish[es] it to be understood that this little book, such as it is, is more particularly addressed to my own sex" (1:vii). Furthermore, to "extract the tone of personal feeling" (1:vii), she says, would be to spoil the original character of the work. While she announces that she has "abstained generally from politics and personalities" (1:xi), the text bears witness to her outspoken manner generally, and on matters of public concern specifically. The possibility that Jameson thought her audience was really not interested in such detailed information about Canada exists only if she actually made her own revisions for the edition of 1852. However, as mentioned above, Sketches in Canada and Rambles Among the Red Men was produced for a specific audience, the traveller.

A different story unfolds with the process of editorial decision making beginning with the early Canadian editions. Paul A.W. Wallace immediately establishes a strong nationalistic tone in his Introduction to the McClelland and Stewart edition of 1923:

> We are growing more curious, in Canada, "to see ourselves as others see us." During the last century we were so busy cutting down trees and building constitutions, that we never found time to "hold the mirror up to nature;" now we are glad to discover what pictures we may of those days, and we are pleased to come across old sketches made by travellers who visited us in the early years of the century. (MS1923 5)

Wallace's words impart a concern for recapturing Canada's early history in visual terms. He laments that since it was "Ontario's misfortune to have had no Haliburton . . . we must turn to the writings of strangers" (MS1923 5). Nevertheless, Wallace admits the value of Jameson's work and that her "pictures are essentially true" (MS1923 5). Obviously the visual aspects of Jameson's book would be privileged in Wallace's edition. While it is not surprising that most of the "personal matter" (MS1923 9) is omitted, it is disturbing to discover that what Wallace considers "personal matter" includes her discussions on everything of philosophical, political, religious, feminist, and international interest. As mentioned above, most of the German material was extracted. Wallace introduces Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada as a "travel book . . . still in its prime at eighty-five [years old]" (MS1923 5), and he is determined to keep it in that genre.

The editors of the Nelson edition of 1943 are more careful with their claims regarding possible motives for their scissorings. Indeed they are so careful in writing their introductory material that nobody would suspect anything of political or feminist import had ever been part of the book. Landon mentions the "material irrelevant to her travels" in one breath with her "extensive moralizing" to which "her unhappy marriage may have contributed" (N1943 vii). "The editors of this condensed version have eliminated such portions and have preserved for us the real meat of the volume" (N1943 vii), writes Landon. The words, "nothing of Canadian interest has been lost" (N1943 viii), imply that Canadians are not interested in what the editors have chosen to omit. Talman and Murray reiterate this view by stating that "only the purely

Canadian sections of the work [are] retained" (N1943 xi). No reference whatsoever is made to Jameson's German studies (all those parts of her book are carefully eliminated) and the only indication that Jameson was at all connected on the Continent is in the comment that "occasionally her European outlook coloured her interpretation of things Canadian" (N1943 x), of which error she is excused because "she has left . . . a vivid and accurate picture of the countryside, the towns, the people, and the customs of the time" (N1943 x). From our viewpoint, considering the position of Canada vis-à-vis Germany in 1943, it is both understandable and disturbing to realize the position that these editors took or felt they had to take.

The aversion to German content, carefully veiled in the Nelson edition of Jameson's book in 1943, was not a new phenomenon. The First World War created the potential to elicit the same effect, and we can only speculate what a publisher in 1915, for example, might have felt duty-bound to do with a book like Winter Studies and Summer Rambles. I mention this because in 1915, Anna Jameson: Letters & Friendships, a selection of Jameson's letters edited by Mrs. Steuart (Beatrice) Erskine, was published by T. Fisher Unwin of London. Erskine adds a "Note" to her introduction which explains that when she embarked upon the project, "the nations of Europe were at peace with one another" (15). Now that the war had broken out, Erskine felt that "a word seems called for with regard to those [letters] dealing with the writers' [sic] experiences in Germany." These are as follows:

> They have been left in, not because we have forgotten or forgiven the atrocities committed during the war, but because they represent the intellectual life in the small States of Germany before Prussia, the "robber state of Europe," swept over its length and breadth with a wave of brutality and militarism that has set the world aflame. (15-16)

Erskine correctly identified the significance of the German material, both for the anthology of letters as well as for Jameson's book about Canada. Material that represents the "intellectual life" of any nation ought never to bow to political events. Interestingly enough, G.H. Needler's Letters of Anna Jameson to Ottilie von Goethe appeared in 1939. Obviously Needler's research at Weimar was, like Erskine's, completed during times of peace. Furthermore, the date of Needler's acknowledgement (24 May 1939) indicates that printing was accomplished before the war broke out in September.

In the latter part of the twentieth century, with increasing academic interest in early Canadian literature including the travel narrative, it is reasonable to expect that Jameson's book, in its entirety, will remain an important document. The McClelland and Stewart modern reprint of 1990 attests to this trend; however, until a more critical or annotated edition appears, it is important to work with the available editions and determine to what extent the various changes and omissions may have affected our understanding of the text to date.

While most secondary material reviewed for this study relies on the first edition of 1838, at least two instances of scholars referring to flawed editions of Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada have come to my attention. The first is Ingold's dissertation Wildnis und Natur in der früheren (anglo)kanadischen Literatur (Wilderness and Nature in early Anglo-Canadian Literature, 1984). Ingold uses the "more accessible" paperback edition of 1965 when quoting, ostensibly to help the reader, and she draws the remainder of her material from MS1923 and N1943 (354). More disturbing, perhaps, is the bibliographical reference in D.M.R. Bentley's study, The Gay]Grey Moose (1992). In Bentley's "Notes," the reader is referred to the McClelland and Stewart edition of 1965, which is not even identified as "Selections" (293).

In this study, I have concentrated on the German component of Jameson's book, but it would be erroneous to think that in the various abridged editions only the German material has suffered exclusion. A comparison of several passages between the original text (herein, the three-volume Coles facsimile reprint) and the edition of 1923, 1943 and 1965 will illustrate this point.

The first instance of textual variation within all abridged twentieth-century texts occurs between pages 18 and 63 of volume 1, and covers time between New Year's Day and 21 January 1837. Jameson begins by describing the Canadian custom of "paying visits of congratulations on the first day of the year" (1:19). Most of her guests were strangers, but "there were one or two among the number, whom . . . [she] distinguished at once as superior to the rest, and original minded, thinking men" (1:20). The N1943 text omits a short passage wherein Jameson contrasts men of London society and their conventional mannerisms. N1943 also omits both 16 January entries wherein Jameson first meets the "aborigines of the country" (1:24) as a result of her "natural and feminine" (1:24) curiosity. While MS1923 includes this description, both it and N1943 are not interested in Jameson's brief philosophical diversion on the effect of climate on "our virtues and our vices" (1:27). Both texts pick up some direct reporting of the cold weather; MS1923 offers the image of ink freezing while Jameson writes, and N1943 chooses the idea that "thought stagnates in [her] head as the ink in [her] pen" (1:30). These changes indicate clearly the editors' priorities regarding natives and the question of climate. Direct reporting may be preferred over philosophical discussion by MS1923, but N1943 tends to delete more important matter.

Next, several pages of material, wherein Jameson discusses "appropriation of the clergy reserves [for education]--a question momentous to the future welfare of the colony, and interesting to every thinking mind" (1:30), are omitted from both MS1923 and N1943. Jameson explains the situation, the opposing parties' views, and her own understanding of the debate; she even offers a plan for disseminating information. Thereafter, Jameson draws back and carries on with more acceptably female discussion about her intended trip to Niagara. At this point, both MS 1923 and N1943 take up the text again, although briefly. That this discussion, as well as the earlier passages about the Indian visit, is retained in MS1965, suggests early in the text that MS1965 might be more true to the original.

Before Jameson embarked on her winter journey to Niagara, she spent several days "ranging [her] German books" (1:40). The resulting entry for 21-22 January (1:40-63) is omitted by all three previous twentieth-century editions; this omission sets a pattern for deleting Jameson's discussions of things German for the remainder of Winter Studies. By far the largest portion of text severed from Jameson's original book are her entries between 8 and 18 March or (in the case of MS1923) even 28

March, covering pages 173 to 266 of volume 1. Jameson was looking for a purposeful activity to pass the long winter days and to "maintain the balance of [her] mind" (1:172). Only MS1965 introduces the "file for the serpent" (1:173) that she decided upon, the translation of Ekermann's Conversations with Goethe. Both MS1923 and N1943 make no mention whatsoever of this aspect of Jameson's work while in Canada. Instead, MS1923 skips from complaints about the climate to domestic concerns:

> [8 March] This relentless winter seems to stiffen and contract every nerve . . . . Let but spring come again . . . (1:171)
>
> [28 March] About a week ago we moved into a new house, and I have since been too much occupied to go on with my studies [what studies?], domestic matters having 'possessed me wholly.' (1:258)

The N1943 edition is still more severe, skipping the lighthearted comment on climate and substituting for it the criminal list of 18 March, so that the discussion appears to move from government issues (5 March) to criminal justice (18 March) to matters concerning the new Jameson house (28 March). Within several pages, the editors of N1943 have disposed of what Canadian readers would recognize as a dismal month, without giving Jameson the chance to share her remedy. "So there is another month gone..." (1:266) are the words these editors let her utter next.

Given the dates of publication, it is possible that MS1923 and N1943 eliminate the German component of Jameson's book because of general feelings toward Germany during and after the war years. However, enough acceptance had returned by 1965 to allow MS1965 briefly to mention the Ekermann book and Jameson's intention in the text. In this context, the editors' treatment of the omissions in their introductory remarks to each edition becomes very telling. To recall, Wallace calls it "personal material," Landon labels it "irrelevant to her travels," and Talman and Murray rely on Jameson's own words, "irrelevant matter." Only Clara Thomas allows the correct words, admitting that "almost all of the German studies" (MS1965 xiii) had been abridged. Political climate necessarily affects book publishing in all its facets. Editors are forced to make decisions about what kind of material to present to the reading public and what they ought to repress. The publishers of MS1923 and N1943 could not afford to retain the German material in Jameson's book. By 1965 they could leave it in, but motives of length or size of text may have dictated the decision to leave out this portion of the book once again.

The above-mentioned cosmetic deletions and apparently politically motivated omissions from Jameson's book might be considered of secondary importance to the trimming in N1943 and MS1965 of the passages in which Jameson discusses the native people of Sault Ste. Marie. To the credit of Wallace, MS1923 retains the entire section. The Sault Ste. Marie section comprises some forty pages of volume 3 and begins with Jameson's introduction to Mrs. Johnston (3:183). Both N1943 and MS1965 allow this introduction to stand, including the exchange of courtesies between the two women and the visit to Mrs. Johnston's brother, Wayish,ky. But while MS1965 includes a description of Mrs. Wayish,ky and her family, N1943 leaves it out. Both texts retain Jameson's first look at the rapids, her illustration of the fishing canoes, and her interest in attempting to descend the rapids. Indeed N1943 goes directly to this experience which occurs several pages later in the original (3:190). MS1965, in the meantime, carries on with Mr. Johnston's discussion of Indian law and mode of warfare, which Jameson reports as a "truly savage law of honour [that] we might call cowardly, but that, being associated with the bravest contempt of danger and pain, . . . seems nearer to the natural law" (3:192).

Next comes Jameson's adventurous descent of the rapids at Sault Ste. Marie in a canoe. This event triggered in Jameson a sense of affinity with these natives which prompted her to record an additional twenty-eight pages of their history, stories and songs in the original text. The editors of MS1965 leave out this material altogether, but the editors of N1943 selectively print portions relating to Mr. John Johnston's history, his courtship and marriage to Waub-Ojeeg's daughter, even adding their own footnote. The white man's story is more important, after all. Jameson's original text and MS1923 offer valuable descriptions of the Chippewa tribal history, some of which borders on legend. It seems of utmost importance that Jameson records the creative spirit of the native people with "The Allegory of Winter and Summer" (3:218-221), that she comments on their language being "figurative and significant, [but] not copious" (3:221), and that she includes several lyrics and a short musical notation complete with native-language lyrics. While Jameson might be accused of acting the part of "imperialist white liberal" in her dealings with the Indians, the tone of her narrative is genuine rather than condescending.

The tone and practice of her twentieth-century editors is rather less genuine when they explain away their editorial decisions and read her narrative only closely enough to slash unwanted passages. Landon's claim that "nothing of Canadian interest has been lost" (N1943 viii) must be interpreted to mean that native Canadians' cultural heritage is not of interest to Canadian readers. This can perhaps be forgiven in pre-multicultural times and pre-native-awareness days. But the focus of the 1943 edition creates a text whose effect is more like a series of television vignettes, each with its obligatory bit of adventure, love, or violence. Such snippets of history do not provide a realistic picture of early Canada. As much as the 1923 edition edits the Winter Studies portion of the book, most of the Summer Rambles sections are retained, thereby offering the Canadian reader a realistic picture of early Canada. We can only speculate about the motives behind the "necessary" cuts to the 1965 edition, but a good guess might be the financial prudence of publishing a small volume during a time when interest in early Canadian literature was minimal.

What Canadians needed in 1923, in 1943, and in 1965 was not caution, not merely a pretty picture, nor a Hollywood version of Jameson's book. What Canadians have always needed, and still need, is to take an honest look at their country's history and to accept openly the significance of other-than-British cultures. Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada is a book that should rank highly with the literature available to answer this need. To tell only the partial truth is, in effect, to perpetuate lies: editorial power as illustrated by the above examples is not only irresponsible, it is dangerous. How many false impressions have readers carried away from the 1923, the 1943 or the 1965 editions? How many interpretations of Jameson have evolved from incomplete books? We are fortunate that through the McClelland and Stewart edition of 1990, Jameson's book has been rescued and restored. We are fortunate that the trend in textual editing now leans toward complete disclosure of emendations, omissions, and variations undertaken. Much good and careful work is being done with early Canadian literature. The heritage we have sought for so long is being discovered, right here amongst the pages of our own books.

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APPENDIX I

Friedrich von Schlegel

ATHENAEUM FRAGMENT

116. Romantic poetry is a progressive, universal poetry. Its aim isn't merely to reunite all the separate species of poetry and put poetry in touch with philosophy and rhetoric. It tries to and should mix and fuse poetry and prose, inspiration and criticism, the poetry of art and the poetry of nature; and make poetry lively and sociable, and life and society poetical; poeticize wit and fill and saturate the forms of art with every kind of good, solid matter for instruction, and animate them with the pulsations of humour. It embraces everything that is purely poetic, from the greatest systems of arts, containing within themselves still further systems, to the sigh, the kiss that the poetizing child breathes forth in artless song. It can so lose itself in what it describes that one might believe it exists only to characterize poetical individuals of all sorts; and yet there still is no form so fit for expressing the entire spirit of an author: so that many artists who started out to write only a novel ended up by providing us with a portrait of themselves. It alone can become, like the epic, a mirror of the whole circumambient world, an image of the age. And it can also--more than any other form--hover at the midpoint between the portrayed and the portrayer, free of all real and ideal self-interest, on the wings of poetic reflection, and can raise that reflection again and again to a higher power, can multiply it in an endless succession of mirrors. It is capable of the highest and most variegated refinement, not only from within outwards, but also from without inwards; capable in that it organizes--for everything that seeks a wholeness in its effects--the parts along similar lines, so that it opens up a perspective upon an infinitely increasing classicism. Romantic poetry is in the arts what wit is in philosophy, and what society and sociability, friendship and love are in life. Other kinds of poetry are finished and are now capable of being fully analyzed. The romantic kind of poetry is still in the state of becoming; that, in fact, is its real essence: that it should forever be becoming and never be perfected. It can be exhausted by no theory and only a divinatory criticism would dare try to characterize its ideal. It alone is infinite, just as it alone is free; and it recognizes as its first

commandment that the will of the poet can tolerate no law above itself. The romantic kind of poetry is the only one that is more than a kind, that is, as it were, poetry itself: for in a certain sense all poetry is or should be romantic. (Firchow 175)

APPENDIX II

EXCERPTS FROM DON JUAN, A FABULOUS EVENT THAT BEFELL A TRAVELLING ENTHUSIAST

by E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776-1822)

translated by Ilona Ryder

EXCERPT A:

. . . The theatre was roomy, tastefully decorated, and brilliantly lighted for such a small town. The other boxes as well as the parterre were crowded full. The first chords of the overture convinced me that, should the singers accomplish even the minimum, a very excellent orchestra would provide me with the greatest enjoyment of the masterpiece. --The Andante shuddered with the terrible underworldly *regno all pianto*; my soul was filled with terror-instilling forebodings of horror. Like a cheering wantonness, a joyful fanfare sounded in the seventh bar of the Allegro. I saw fiery demons stretch their glowing claws out of a deep night--toward the lives of happy people who danced merrily on the thin blanket covering the bottomless abyss. The conflict between human nature and the unknown, terrible forces that engulf mankind and lie in wait for his ruin, came clearly before my mind's eye.

At last the storm abates; the curtain flies up. Frosty and sullen, wrapped in his cloak, Leporello strides across the front of the pavilion engulfed by darkest night. "*Notte e giorno fraticar.*" --So, Italian? --here on German ground Italian? *Ah che piacere!* I will hear all the recitatives, everything, just as the great master felt and saw it in his soul!

EXCERPT B - DONNA ANNA:

Don Juan plunges out; behind him Donna Anna, holding fast to the cloak of the sinner. What an appearance! She could be taller, more slender, more majestic in movement: but what a head! --Eyes, radiating love, anger, hate, desperation, like a pyramid of lightning sparks out of that focal point, eyes that burn through the most inner feelings like the eternal Greek flame! --Dark hair, its loosened braids flowing in ringlets down the nape. The white nightshirt tellingly wraps those never safe charms.

Engulfed by the terrible deed, the heart pulses in tremendous beats.--And now--what a voice! "*Non sperar se non m'uccidi.*" As if poured out of etherial metal, tones shine like glowing lightning through the storm of the instruments! . . .

. . . Throughout the performance, I thought I felt a soft, warm breath, heard the rustle of a silken gown: the presence of a woman; but being fully absorbed in the world of poetry that the opera unlocked for me, I paid no attention. Now that the curtain had fallen, I turned to look at her. --No--no words can express my amazement: Donna Anna, in full costume, as I had just seen her on the stage, stood behind me and looked at me with those penetrating, soulful eyes. --I stared at her speechlessly: her mouth (it seemed to me) twisted into a quiet, ironical smile, in which I saw mirrored my own ridiculous figure. I felt the need to speak to her, but, thus surprised --I would say shocked, I could not move my paralyzed tongue. Finally, finally, almost spontaneously, the words came out: "How is it possible to see you here?," upon which she replied immediately in the purest Tuscan. Had I not known and understood Italian, she would have had to forego the pleasure of my conversation, for she spoke no other than this language. --The sweet words sounded like a song. Her speech heightened the expression of the darkblue eyes, and each flash emanating from them poured a stream of blood into my heart; my pulse grew stronger and my fibres twitched. --It was undeniably Donna Anna. To weigh the possibilities, how she could be both on the stage and in my theatre box at the same time, didn't even occur to me. Just as a happy dream can combine the peculiar and then Faith explain the supernatural and add, unforced, the so-called natural phenomena: just so did I, in the presence of this wonderful woman, move into a kind of somnambulism in which I recognized the secret relationship that tied me to her, that even her appearance on the stage couldn't have taken her away from my side. . .

Only then, as she spoke about Don Juan, about her role, were the depths of the masterwork opened up to me, so that I could look into its strange world and recognize clearly its fantastic phenomena. She said, her whole life was music, and she believed that she could often comprehend in song that which otherwise remained hidden. "Yes, I can understand it," she said with burning eyes and raised voice, "but all around me remains cold and dead, and while the audience applauds a difficult arpeggio and an accomplished style, icy hands clutch my glowing heart!--But you--you understand me: I know that for you also, the wonderful, romantic kingdom where the heavenly magic of tone lives, has opened up!". . .

The first act had pleased me, but after this miraculous event, the music affected me in a very different, strange manner. It was, as if the long promised fulfilment of the most beautiful dreams emerged from a different world into real life: as if the most secret premonitions of the soul were fastened to the notes and would have to configure themselves strangely to be understood.--In Donna Anna's scene I felt myself transported into drunken sensuality by a soft, warm aura of exoticism passing over me; I closed my eyes, and seemed to feel a glowing kiss on my lips: but the kiss was like that of an ever thirsting, yearning, interminable tone.

EXCERPT C - AFTER THE PERFORMANCE:

. . . I hurried to my room in an exalted mood. The waiter called me to the dining room, and I followed him mechanically.--The company was finely dressed for mass, and the subject of conversation was today's performance of Don Juan. In general, the Italians and their acting were praised: but some small comments, thrown about mischievously, showed that no one had the slightest idea of the deeper meanings of this opera of all operas. --Don Ottavio was well liked. Donna Anna had been too passionate for one guest. On the stage one should, he noted, control oneself and avoid being overly excitable. The narration of the attack had really dismayed him. Here he took a pinch of tobacco and looked foolishly at his neighbour, who stated that, incidentally, she was quite a beautiful woman, only not concerned enough over her clothes and hair, as in that scene in which one of her ringlets came undone and shadowed the half-profile of her face! Now another began intoning softly: "*Fin ch'han dal vino*" --upon which a lady noted that she was least happy with Don Juan: the Italian was much too gloomy, too serious, and didn't take on enough of the frivolous, jolly character. --The last explosion was especially praised. --Sick of the nonsense, I returned to my room. . .

It was so close, so humid in the damp chamber! --At midnight I thought I heard a voice, my Theodor! You spoke my name clearly, and there seemed to be a rustling at the concealed door. What was there to stop me from entering once more the place of my wondrous adventure? --Maybe I will see you and she who fills my entire being? How easy it is, to carry in the small table--two lights--writing material! The waiter looks for me with the punch I ordered; he finds my room empty, the connecting door open: he follows me into the box and looks at me sceptically. At a sign from me, he sets down the drink and leaves, turning around once more, a question on his lips. Turning my back, I lean over the edge of the box and stare into the deserted theatre, whose architecture, lit magically by my two lights, reflects and emerges strangely and fairy-like. The stage curtain moves in the draft that cuts through the house. --What if it were to surge out and up? --if Donna Anna, frightened by horrible masks, were to appear? --"Donna Anna!" I call spontaneously: the cry dies out in the desolate room, but the ghosts of the instruments in the orchestra pit wake up--a wonderful tone trembles upward; it is, as if it echoed the beloved name! --I could not ward off the divine shudder that ran along my nerves.

I become master over my feelings, and am in the mood to share with you, my Theodor, how I finally believe to comprehend the great work of the divine Master. --Only the poet understands the poet: only a romantic mind can enter into the Romantic; only poetically exalted mind, that received its blessing in the middle of the Temple, can perceive what the blessed one expresses in his enthusiasm. --If one looks at the libretto (Don Juan), without giving it a deeper meaning, so that one considers only the historical: it is hard to believe, how Mozart could think and compose such music to it. A bon-vivant, who loves wine and women in the excess, who maliciously invites to his table a stone man, the representative of the old father whom he stabbed defending his own life: really, herein lies little of poetic value; and honestly stated, such a man is not worth the honour of being singled out by the underworldly forces as the showpiece of hell. He is not worth the stone man's effort, enlivened by the departed spirit, to dismount the horse and warn the sinner to repent in his last hour. Not worth, that Satan sends his best companions to arrange for the grisly transport into his domain.

You can believe me, Theodor, that Nature had endowed him, like her favourite spoilt child, with all that, which raises mankind into a relationship with the divine and above the common underling, above the factory labourer, above those cyphers who, if they should amount to anything, have to add a number and be thrown out of the workplace. Whatever Don Juan conquers, he would rule. A strong, manly body, an education--out of which streams the spark of highest awareness--in his breast; profound feelings, quick understanding. --But it is the terrible consequence of sin, that the Enemy retains the power, to lay in wait with snares, even whilst man strives for the highest expression of his divine nature. This conflict between the divine and daemonic forces creates the concept of earthly life, as well as the fought-for victory of the concept of divine life. --The demands he could make upon his life, the physical and mental organizations, fascinated Don Juan, and an eternal blaze of yearning, which caused his blood to flow boiling through his veins, drove him to seize, greedily and without rest, all he could in life, vainly hoping for satisfaction! --There is probably nothing on earth that can raise one's inner nature up as much as can love; it is love, working so secretly and so powerfully, that destroys and transforms the innermost elements of one's being. No wonder, then, that it was in love that Don Juan hoped to still the yearning that tore apart his breast, and it was here that Satan threw the noose over his neck! Through the Archenemy's cunning, a thought entered Don Juan's mind that through love, through the pleasures of woman, he could have fulfilled here on earth that which lives in our breast as heavenly promise and which is in fact that endless yearning that brings us in direct relation to the divine. Fleeing restlessly from one beautiful woman to the next, to superfluity, to enjoy with glowing fervour and become drunk with their charms, always thinking himself betrayed in his choice, always hoping to find the ideal of final satisfaction, Don Juan must have found all earthly life dull and flat. And because he was contemptuous of people in general, he rebelled against the one thing that meant the most to him in life and that had disappointed him so much. The sexual encounter was no longer a satisfaction of his senses, but rather a sinful mockery against nature and the creator. Deep contempt of the common views of life, over which he felt superior, and bitter ridicule of people who were happy in love, drove Don Juan to rebel against and ruin especially those unknown, fateful beings that appeared to him to be playing with his feelings. Whenever he encountered such a situation, he would boldly step up and take, by seduction and rape, many a beloved bride-to-be. Thus, by destroying the happiness of the lovers, Don Juan triumphs with a fiendish power that lifts him up more and more, above the narrowness of life--above Nature--above God! --And he really wants more and more out of life, but only in order to plunge into the eye of the storm. Anna's seduction with its resulting circumstances is the highest peak, to which Don Juan lifts himself.--

Donna Anna is, as representative of the highest favours of Nature, juxtaposed with Don Juan. Just as Don Juan was originally a strong, noble man, so is she a divine woman, against whose purity the Devil could do nothing. All the arts of hell could ruin her only in body, not in spirit. --Just as Satan had completed this ruin, so was hell obliged to complete the revenge. -- Don Juan laughingly invites the picture of her father, his other victim, to a merry feast, and the transformed spirit, that could only now see through the fallen man and to be grieved for him, does not scorn to come to Don Juan in that terrible guise and warn him to repent. But so ruined, so torn is Don Juan's being that even heaven's salvation can shed no ray of hope into his soul and spark him into a better being!--

You have no doubt noticed, my Theodor, that I spoke of Anna's seduction. As well as I can in this hour where deep from my soul come thoughts and ideas that outstrip the words, I will tell you how the music, without even considering the text, gives me the whole relationship of the two battling natures (Don Juan and Donna Anna). --Already earlier I noted that Anna is juxtaposed with Don Juan. How can this be, if Donna Anna were meant by heaven to be the instrument by which Don Juan could recognize love, the love that was ruined for him through Satan's arts, and to save him from his useless death? --Too late, at the time of the highest sinning he saw her, and he could only fulfill his fiendish lust by ruining her. --She was not saved!

He fled; the deed had been done. The fire of her divine passion, embers from hell, flowed through her most inner heart and made any resistance impossible. Only he, only Don Juan, could ignite in her the wanton insanity with which she embraced him, the evil passion with which she sinned in her heart. . . .

EXCERPT E - CONCLUSION:

. . . The clock strikes two! --A warm electric breath flows over me--I sense the soft odour of the fine Italian perfume that first made me suspect my visitor yesterday. I am enveloped in a peaceful feeling, that I believe I can only express in tones. The air wafts more forcefully through the house--the strings of the piano rustle--Heaven! As from a great distance, carried on the wings of swelling tones of a light orchestra, I think I hear Anna's voice: "*Non mi dir bell' idol mio*!" --Reveal yourself, you distant, unknown world of spirits, where an inexpressibly divine pain fulfils the soul's greatest happiness! Let me enter into the circle of your lovely apparitions! May the dream that you choose--soon to arouse horror, soon as a friendly message for earthly man--may it lead me to the ethereal realms while sleep holds the body in leaden bands!--

Conversation at Midday in the Dining Room as Afterword

Clever man with the tobacco box, snapping his fingers on the lid: It's really too bad, that it will be a long time before we hear a decent opera again! but that comes from ugly overacting!

Mulatto: Yes, yes! I told you often enough! The role of Donna Anna always affected her a lot! --Yesterday she was as if possessed. She had supposedly fainted and lay unconscious the whole intermission, and in the scene in act two she had nervous attacks--

Insignificant Guest: O, you don't say!--

Mulatto: Yes indeed! Nervous attacks, and she wouldn't let herself be taken from the theatre.

I: For heaven's sake--these events are not serious, though? we will soon hear Signora again?

Clever man with the box, taking a pinch: Hardly, for Signora died this morning at exactly two o'clock.

APPENDIX III

EXCERPTS FROM FRANZ STERNBALDS WANDERUNGEN

by Ludwig Tieck

translated by Ilona Ryder

EXCERPT A:

We always talk about a golden time, and think it is so far away, and paint it with such brilliant colours. O, my dear Sebastian, this wonderful land often lies right before our feet, though we look for it with yearning eyes beyond the oceans and past the great flood. This is only because we are not honest with ourselves. Why are we so anxious about earning our bit of bread, that we cannot even eat it in peace? Why don't we just step out of ourselves sometimes and shake off all that tortures and presses us, take a deep breath and feel the heavenly freedom that is really born to us? Then we would have to forget for a time the wars and battles, the quarrelling and slandering, to leave everything behind and close our eyes from all the confusion in the world, and give heavenly peace a chance to descend upon us and embrace us with its sweet, loving wings. But we would rather immerse ourselves more and more in the madness of ordinary commerce. We willingly draw a veil over the mirror that hangs down from the clouds, the mirror in which divinity and nature shows us their faces, just so that we may find worldly vanity even more important. So is it that man's spirit cannot lift itself from the dust, look confidently to the stars and feel its kinship to them. Man cannot love art, because he cannot love that which delivers him from the confusion, for art is related to this blessed peace. . . . Dear Sebastian, let Nature blow her friendly breeze over you from time to time; when your breast is pressed with worry, look towards the people who are the least noticed in the whirlpool of life, and welcome the sweet godliness that descends upon you under ancient oak trees when the evening sun shines and crickets chirp and doves coo. Don't call me too soft and a dreamer when I advise you thus; I know you think differently in some things, you are more reasonable and therefore also more hard-hearted. (19-20)

EXCERPT B:

. . . Franz wandered through the fields and observed the trees as they were reflected in a neighbouring pond. He had never looked a the landscape with such pleasure. The enjoyment of the manifold colors in all their shadings, the sweet peacefulness, the effect of the trees--all this had never before been granted to him in nature itself the way he became aware of it now in the reflection. Above all, he was delighted with the perspective formed by the scene. The heavens with their cloud pictures and soft blue hues now swam between the water-ruffled figures and the trembling leaves. Franz took out his sketchbook but as he began drawing the scene, actual nature seemed to him dry compared to its watery reproduction. Even less satisfying were the pencil strokes on his paper, which definitely could not represent that which he saw before him. He had never before contemplated painting a landscape: he had always considered it merely a necessary extra to various historical paintings, but had never felt that lifeless nature could be something whole, something complete in itself and therefore worthy of artistic rendering. (32-33)